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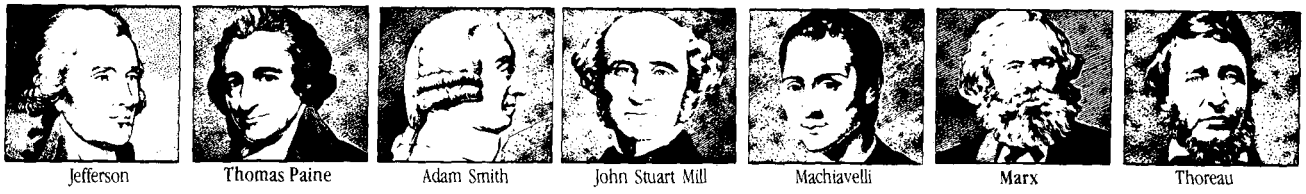

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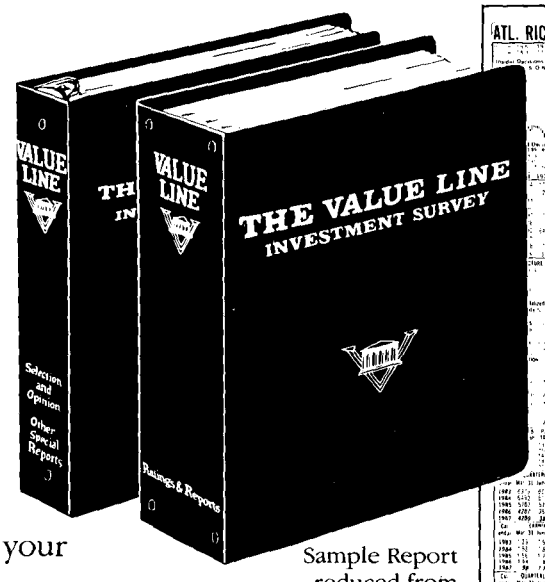

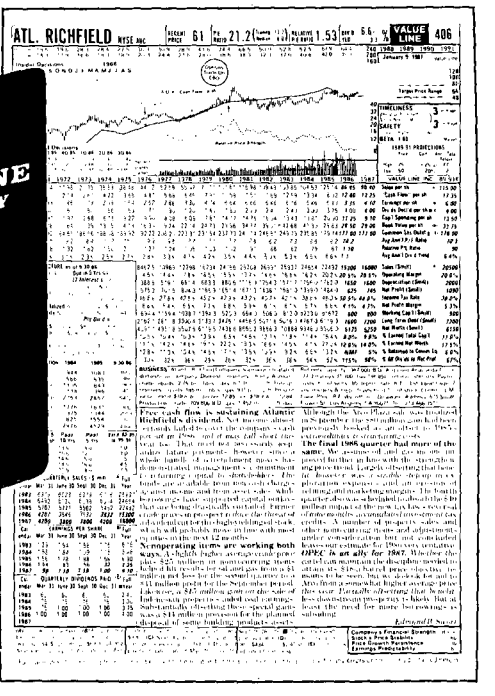

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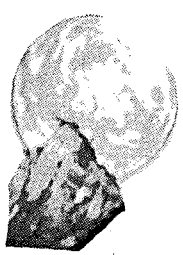

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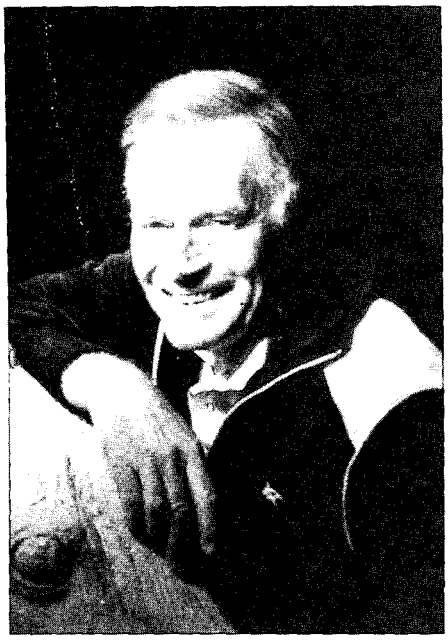

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Manhattan Institute forum

"The Information Standard"

Is there a connection between the development of a world-wide information network and the growth of political and economic freedom?

Very definitely, according to Walter Wriston, author of *Risk and Other Four-Letter Words*. The rapid transmission of information has become a radical force for political change, he argues, with governments increasingly unable to control what their citizens hear from outside their borders—it is estimated that 80% of the news reaching the Third World is received through hand-held transistor radios. In the years ahead, the new Information Standard may even force us to redefine our ideas of sovereignty.

For example, the control of money has been decentralized, with central governments losing power to markets around the world linked by electronic networks. In many ways, the Information Standard is more Draconian than the gold standard, says Wriston... and it can't be repealed.

Risk and Other Four-Letter Words
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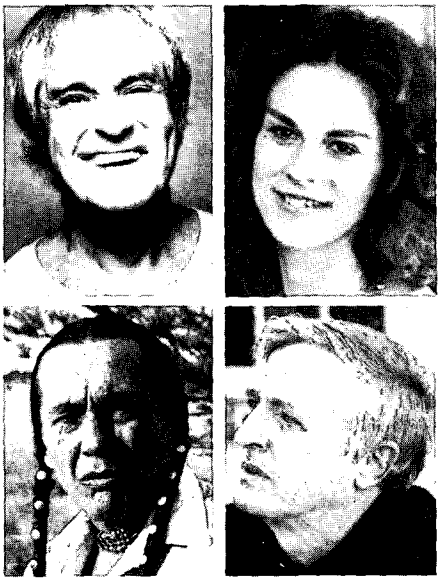
Talk of the Town



Political magazines are in the interpretation business, which is probably why printed interviews—no analysis, no commentary, just conversation—are such a rare commodity. We think they're both revealing and fun, though; hence the nearly 70 published interviews during REASON's 19-year life. A few facts: Interviews are always taped, not transcribed by a furiously scribbling amanuensis. (Yeah, it sounds obvious but it's commonly asked.) What you read is an edited version, with the uhs, yups, boring parts, and "That's a stupid question!"s excised. If interview subjects get a chance to inspect the transcript, it's only to correct inaccuracies of transcription. They don't get to rewrite their answers.

Our worst interviews are, invariably, with politicians. Whatever tack the interlocutor takes, whichever questions he asks, the hacks respond with sound and fury and fustian signifying nothing, absolutely nothing but the carefully cadenced tripe of the programmed man. Ever solicitous of our readers, we consign most of these interviews to a spot 'neath a 10-ton drum at a privatized landfill.

REASON's Ronald Reagan interview, by Senior Editor Manny Klausner in the July 1975 issue, was an exception. Our man Klausner went beyond Lesley Stahlish "Does the budget process need reform?" queries, and threw smart, impudent strikes Ron's way. It was respectful but rigorous, and seeing Reagan squirm through the prostitution question was alone worth the price of admission.

Readers seem to like our frequent interviews, though there are the predictable complaints whenever we feature someone whose opinions are unorthodox or disharmonious with our general editorial stance in favor of individual liberty. Angry letters get written and complaints get voiced, but that's just the way it goes. We see no point in filtering each subject through the ideological strainer, washing heresies down the sink, so that we can present a spanking clean, sterile product.

Interviewees have been conservative (William F. Buckley, Jr., Irving Kristol), liberal (Daniel Ellsberg, Christie Hefner), and unclassifiable (Timothy Leary, Russell Means). We've featured three Nobel laureates—F. A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, and George Stigler—and a fourth, with 1986 honoree James Buchanan, won't be far behind.

As the only national magazine of politics and culture based in Los Angeles, one of REASON's comparative advantages is its propinquity to the entertainment community; we intend to exploit that edge. Hence this month's interview with Charlton Heston. Now you needn't worry about REASON becoming a political "Lifestyles of the Rich & Famous"; no tours of Anson Williams's home are scheduled, and Marty Zupan and Bob Poole aren't receiving the Irving G. Thalberg Award at this year's Oscar ceremonies.

We are, however, expanding our popular culture coverage, particularly in those spheres where trends favorable to liberty can be detected. Stay tuned for further interviews with film and TV personalities who have provocative things to say.

—Bill Kauffman

Not just a job... College students, what are you doing over summer vacation? REASON is looking for an editorial intern to do reporting and writing in exchange for great experience and a modicum of money. Interested? Send your résumé and several writing samples to 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405. It'll be an adventure.

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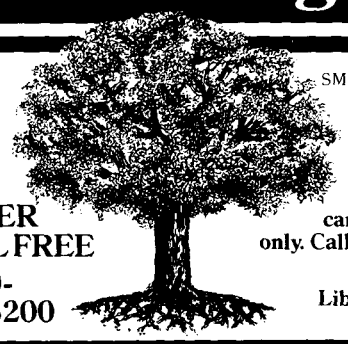

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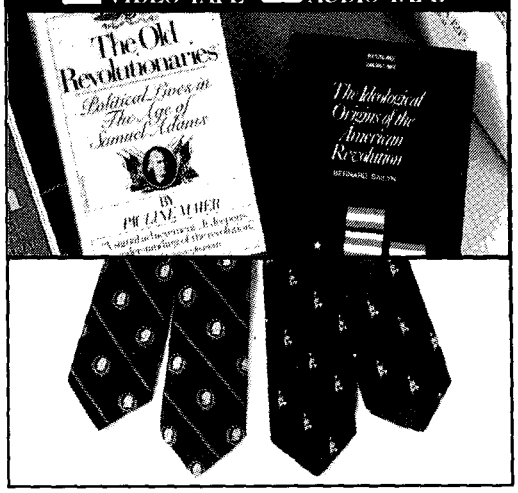
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letters

Mormon Liberties

Having once callled Utah and the Mormon Church home, I found Gerald M. King's story "The Mormon Underground Fights Back" (Jan.) extremely perceptive and sensitive. I share Mr. King's optimistic vision for the future of liberty in the Mormon movement. A few years ago I did not have the wisdom (the courage?) to appreciate the concept of "free agency" or such spokesmen for liberty as Ezra Taft Benson, a man of enormous courage and integrity. Under its present leadership it is quite possible that the Mormon Church will overcome its passion for respectability and again emphasize the important principle that is its reason for being.

Kjell Nilsen
Victoria, B.C.

Beware the Fundamentalists

As an advocate of laissez-faire capitalism and objective reason, I was saddened and dismayed to read Gerald King's depiction of Mormonism. I do not take issue with the rights of either polygamists or Mormons to practice their religion without interference from federal and state governments or individuals; however, it is nothing short of an attack on man's mind and reason to suggest that Mormonism, especially fundamental Mormonism, is somehow associated with individualism, capitalism, and liberty.

I have worked and lived in Utah on three different occasions and find King's article inaccurate and misleading. Collectivism and mysticism are rampant throughout Mormon lore and culture. Anyone who believes otherwise should read *No Man Knows My History* by Fawn Brodie.

REASON magazine should not fall prey to the fundamental religionists' cry against statism and for a return to constitutional purity. Their ultimate goal is to replace both with mystic revelations and anarchy, not to promote a "free mind" or a "free market."

James C. Bishop
Columbia, MO

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Holding the Line At One

I wish to cancel my subscription to REASON. Why? Because of your defense of polygamy in the January issue. If everything is defended because of religion, homosexuality and drugs are a shoe-in. God gave Adam one wife, Eve, and that is the ultimate precedent.

What I would like to know is how the men get their wives to believe the line, "I love you more than anything, so I'm marrying an additional wife"?

Trent Corbett
Norfolk, VA

Devil May Care Attitude?

It is all very well to champion reproductive rights, as Karl Zinsmeister does in "Baby Haters International" (Viewpoint, Jan.), along with an emotion-laden picture of a charming baby with a sign "void where prohibited by law." This surely puts him on the side of the angels. If the picture had been of a starving African child, the word *prohibited* would have had another meaning: don't produce children who must endure such a fate. Starvation is only one of the many problems created by too many people, others being depletion of resources, pollution of water and air, inadequate facilities, too few jobs, crowding, traf-

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letters

fic congestion, etc., etc. Under this circumstance, how can anyone claim that the decision about how many children to have is a private affair? If Zinsmeister values liberty, he will work with rather than against the groups seeking solutions to population problems. These problems cannot be ignored if future generations are to have decent living conditions.

Dorothy H. Bloom
Santa Monica, CA

Privatize Parenting!

The cliché "a picture is worth a thousand words" was reinforced in January's Viewpoint with all the subtlety of a battering ram. The chilling stories related in "Baby Haters International," oddly enough, revived recent memories of a news story that related how "good" the French government is to parents. One may logically conclude that "good" or "bad" treatment by governments to parents are flip sides of the same coin...collectivist decisions on individual responsibilities.

A positive idea, that presents an alternative to "public" decisions on private parenting, would be parenting networks. These could be clearinghouses for parenting/voluntary child-care facilities, paid private babysitters, parenting tips, as well as a host of other contacts and information. These parenting networks would decrease dependence on government aid and control.

Darryl Hold
Farmingdale, NY

House Cleaning in South Africa

Frances Kendall's proposals for decentralization in South Africa ("South Africa's Only Hope?" Jan.) are surely a breath of fresh air. Local freedom along the lines of the Swiss cantons would permit those localities that opposed the government since it came to power in 1948 to get rid of apartheid regulations that they never wanted. In fact, some of this is happening now. One section of Johannesburg is a dense complex of high-rises where there are numerous vacancies. Landlords are renting to Coloureds and Indians, the govern-

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About the Author

Psycholinguist Suzette Haden Elgin has presented her innovative self-defense principles in a variety of formats. She has given workshops and seminars all over the U.S., including verbal self-defense sessions for doctors, lawyers, and other professionals. Dr. Elgin has also created a self-defense tape and a training manual for people who teach her self-defense techniques.

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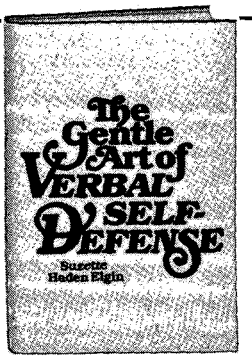

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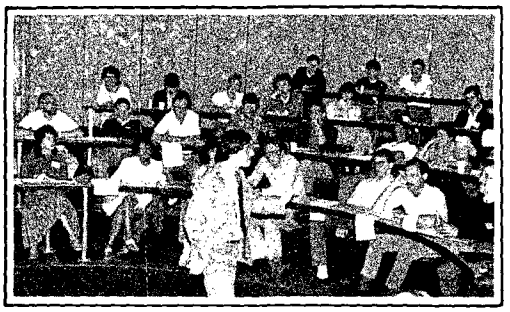

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letters

ment turns a blind eye to this violation of the Group Areas Act, and the earth does not collapse.

There is one thing, however, to keep in mind. Like many South Africans questing for a new constitutional structure, Kendall runs to the end before the beginning. Is it necessary to rebuild your house to sweep up the kitchen floor? Whether the South African government can or even knows how to go about creating cantonal structures is dubious.

What is certainly within the power of the government to do *now* is to get off the backs of the localities. In the new atmosphere generated by the remission of centralized power, free and cooperative interracial relations would immediately emerge. These relations would lead naturally to proper, free local government, to protect the interests of white and black in common. As a starter, the government should stop blocking the proposals for regional autonomy in Kwa Natal put forth by the Buthelezi Commission, which the people of Natal are ready to accept.

Howard Brotz
Department of Sociology
McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario

Can Humans Flourish Where Freedom Doesn't?

In "The Bishops vs. the Bourgeoise" (Viewpoint, Dec.), Douglas Rasmussen presents a rather amazing collection of distortions and inaccuracies concerning the Catholic bishops' pastoral letter on the economy. His essay is, to use his own words, "an offensive caricature."

Allow me to note two of the most egregious of his misconceptions. He writes, "The picture of human flourishing that the Catholic bishops portray is that of a hungry mouth being fed." This is simply inaccurate. I quote directly from the bishops' letter. "Poor people must be empowered to take charge of their own futures and become responsible for their own economic advancement....We believe that an effective way to attack poverty is through programs that are small in scale, locally based, and oriented toward empowering the poor to become self-sufficient."

Indeed, the vision of human dignity that

letters

the bishops portray is that of a hungry person *feeding himself*. Human freedom is so important that it should not be limited to those with abundant resources. The poor, too, deserve freedom—freedom to control their own lives, freedom from hunger, freedom from homelessness, freedom from the degradation of poverty.

A second profound error is Rasmussen's contention that "the Catholic bishops advocate a political order in which the exercise of our judgments about...how to live our lives...is to be sacrificed on the altar of providing for the needs of others." Quite the contrary, the bishops suggest that our own dignity and freedom is actually enhanced when poverty and human misery is alleviated in the broader human family. We are *not*, as Rasmussen suggests, totally isolated autonomous individuals. We are social beings; we live and grow in community. To suggest otherwise is to live in a dream world of extreme individualism that is both short-sighted and dangerous.

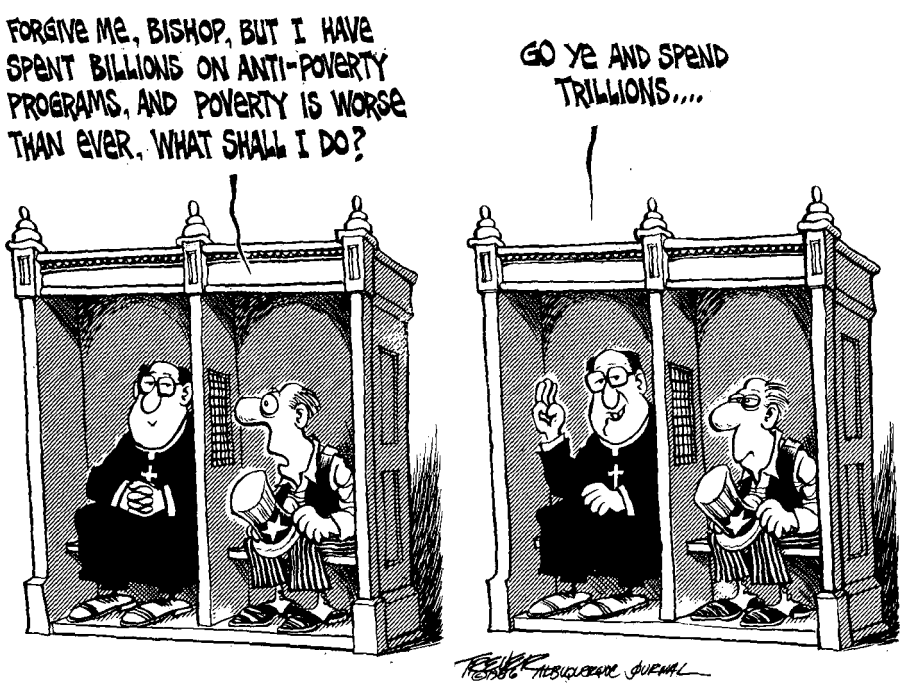
Ronald T. Krietemeyer
United States Catholic Conference
Washington, DC

Mr. Rasmussen replies: Mr. Krietemeyer ignores what is essential to the bishops' letter and concentrates instead on what is accidental. The issue is not whether the Catholic bishops think it is better that the poor feed themselves than that they be fed by others. Nor is the issue whether human flourishing is advanced by benevolence and charity. Rather, the issues are much deeper.

Do the bishops understand (1) that self-directedness is the central activity of human flourishing, which is, and indeed must be, present in all other activities that constitute *the* human good that is human flourishing; and (2) that human dignity is self-directed action in pursuit of one's own freely chosen goals? They clearly do not.

When Krietemeyer says "human freedom is so important that it should not be limited to those with abundant resources," he is saying that the resources of other people are to be used without their consent to provide the poor with "economic rights." What is amazing about Krietemeyer, as well as the bishops themselves, is their failure to admit that such a policy involves treating the lives of individual human beings as resources to be used by any person, group, or government who can claim need of them. Is it necessary to point out that wealth is something that is created by thought and labor and not found in nature like manna from heaven?

The bishops' proposals are contrary to human dignity and not something our nature as social beings requires. The truth is not that I have distorted the bishops' proposals. I have instead shown the nature of the moral vision upon which they are based.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The Real Issue Is Nicaragua

Robert W. Poole, Jr.

The Iran-*contra* affair continues to dominate the headlines. To members of Congress and most media commentators, the focus of attention is what laws, if any, the Reaganites may have broken in secretly channeling funds to the *contras*.

Concern with legality is certainly proper. We don't want our presidents to be above the law—even though there's a long tradition of presidents making their own foreign policy in defiance of Congress. (FDR's covert assistance to Claire Chenault's Flying Tigers in pre–World War II China is a nearly exact parallel with Reagan's aid to the *contras* via General Secord's network).

But the near-hysteria over legality in this case is obscuring the far more important issue of what the government of a free society should do about a case such as Nicaragua. By now it is evident to anyone who reads the newspaper that the Sandinista regime is a classic Marxist-Leninist one. We've seen it all before in Cuba, in Grenada, in Ethiopia.

What REASON author Jack Wheeler calls "franchise totalitarianism" has taken hold in Nicaragua—Cuban military advisors, East German secret police, Bulgarian technicians, etc., all orchestrated by the Soviet Union. Hapless Nicaraguans are watched over by Cuban-style neighborhood-defense committees. The only non-Sandinista newspaper, *La Prensa*, is closed down after being heavily censored for years. The Catholic Church is endlessly harassed.

No one who values human liberty can fail to be disturbed by all this, especially when it is happening so close to our own borders. But to say that is not, per se, to justify U.S. government efforts to overthrow the Sandinistas.

Despite John F. Kennedy's grandiose pledge to "bear any burden, pay any price" to defend liberty anywhere on earth, it is simply not our government's job to overthrow all the world's violators of human rights. In a free society, the government is hired by us to protect and defend our rights, not to be a global do-gooder. Vietnam should have taught us the high cost, in lives and dollars, of following JFK's pledge to its logical conclusion.

But does this principle imply withdrawal from interaction with other countries—isolationism? Hardly. What it does is to give us a standard for judging when some form of intervention is justified, namely when there is a clear threat to the survival of the United States as a free society. And it is on this issue that the debate over Nicaragua *ought* to be focused.

Many liberals tell us that tiny Nicaragua can't possibly pose a threat to the mighty United States. Sure, they have put in a repressive system, but that's the Nicaraguans' own affair. Stop harassing the Sandinistas, they say, and they will calm down, lift censorship, and not be so dependent on Cuban/Soviet aid.

Naive nonsense, reply many conservatives. The Sandinistas are, after all, communists, and once they've secured a foothold in Nicaragua, they will proceed to subvert their neighbors, threatening Panama (and the canal) and eventually Mexico, right on our doorstep. Then, too, the Sandinistas might grant the Soviets military basing rights in exchange for their help, as Cuba and Vietnam have done. That would pose a significant military threat to this country. Thus, say conservatives, it would be better to overthrow the Sandinistas now, while they're weak, even if this means sending in the Marines.

Are the conservatives who raise these points simply Cold War extremists, or are these realistic threats? The liberals are certainly right that Nicaragua today is no military threat to the United States, but how imminent must a threat be to justify preemptive action?

These are the kinds of questions that ought to be under intense discussion today. But instead we have a media circus over the technicalities of Colonel North's activities. Instead of immersing itself in minutiae, Congress ought to be asking the administration for its evidence concerning direct Soviet involvement in Nicaragua. How else can people decide whether there is a sufficient threat to justify actions to overthrow the Sandinista regime?

Were this kind of discussion taking place, we could also have an intelligent debate about the Reagan Doctrine, about giving aid to indigenous groups fighting to overthrow tyrannical regimes. Americans are quite rightly reluctant to send in the Marines, unless the threat to this country is clear-cut and imminent. Such actions are costly, difficult, and unpopular in Latin America (where previous interventions have often helped dictators). But as an *alternative* to military intervention, giving people the means to throw off their oppressors is as American as our own Revolution (which would not have succeeded but for aid from European governments and individuals).

To be sure, such a policy may be fraught with practical difficulties. Should such aid be carried out openly or attempted covertly? Should the CIA get involved in planning and training, as it has with the *contras*, or should we give only money to all eligible groups and let them sink or swim? Indeed, who should be eligible at all? What standards of conduct must such a group meet (no terrorism, certainly)? And what about its political aims?

Unfortunately, these questions are not the ones being asked today in Washington. Oliver North and his escapades is not the real issue. What matters is how a free society decides to cope with a Soviet-backed threat near its borders. ◻

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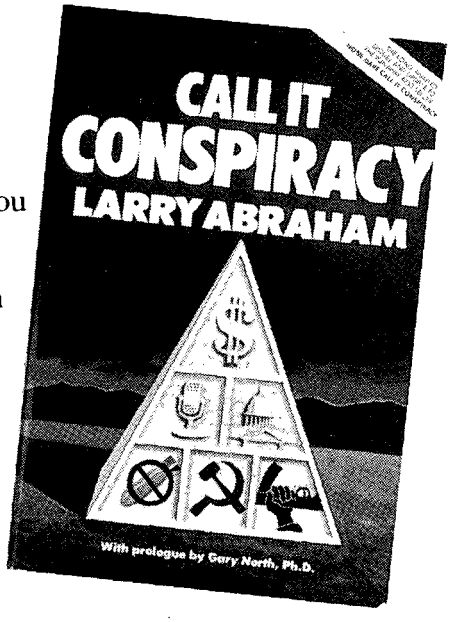

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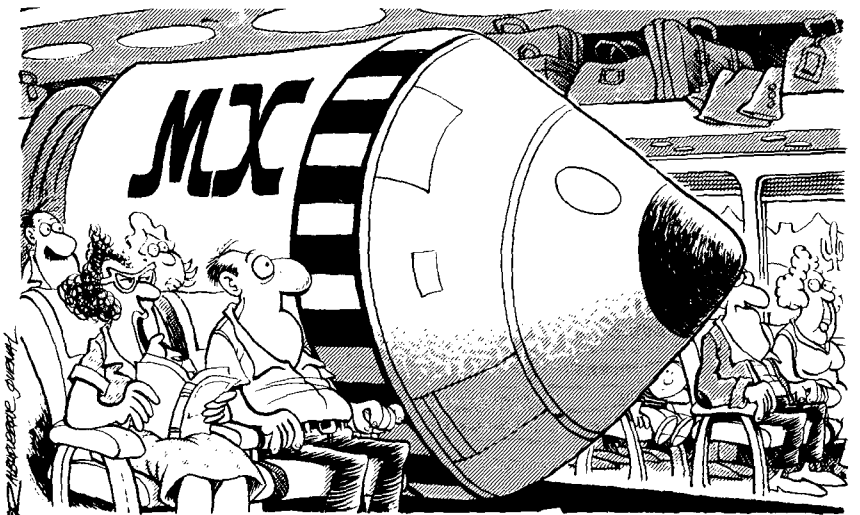
The Farmer's Plight. Subsidies of $2.2 million, the largest support payment to any farm in Texas last year, went to a $70-million partnership owned 50-50 by International Paper Co. of New York and Crown Prince Hans Adam of Liechtenstein. The partnership controls 76,500 acres of Texas farmland—more land than all of Liechtenstein. Don Mathews, who manages farm and ranch land for the prince's company, said he took part in the federal subsidy program because he had to. "In 1985, we didn't participate because we could operate outside the government program," he said. "But last year, we were forced in. By forced, I mean the government started selling rice at half price. Either you join in the program or go broke." Sounds like a deal worthy of Don Corleone.

U.S. Immigration authorities are hard at work shipping home illegal aliens and protecting American industry at the same time. Their latest target: foreign fashion models. The Immigration and Naturalization Service refuses to grant work permits to most foreign models who want to work in Los Angeles, according to model-agency head Nina Blanchard. According to the INS, the foreign models would be taking jobs away from equally qualified U.S. models. "Ridiculous," says Blanchard. "The good models have nothing to fear from their foreign counterparts." Sounds like a model attitude.

Peeling paint on West Virginia's license plates may be caused by the inmates who make them. "We've had reports that the prisoners urinate in the paint when they get mad," says Department of Motor Vehicles Commissioner Lee Bechtold. Just give thanks the prison system doesn't operate a bakery.

What's good for General Motors won't fly in Georgia. A couple, the manager and owners of Snorkel's bar in Camden County, and a radio station disk jockey were charged with sodomy after the bar ran a promotion to see who could have the most erotic encounter in the back seat of a '57 Chevy. The winning couple performed what the local sheriff called a "lewd and lascivious sex act," which was videotaped and shown at Snorkel's three times during sessions emceed by the deejay. Number Four on the Hit Parade and rising fast?



"'LET'S TAKE THE TRAIN,' YOU SAID. 'DON'T WORRY, THE GOVERNMENT WILL FIND SOME WAY TO KEEP AMTRAK RUNNING,' YOU SAID...."

Talk about shotgun weddings! A couple ordered by officials of the St. Louis suburb of Ladue to stop living together finally got married. But their lawyer still plans to appeal the case—right after the honeymoon. "No, it didn't have anything to do with the court battle," says E. Terrance Jones. "We're getting married on our timetable, not any timetable set by Ladue." The Missouri Court of Appeals upheld zoning laws that bar people from living together if they are not related by blood, marriage, or adoption. St. Louis County Circuit Judge Robert Hoester had ordered one of the two to move out within 90 days if they remained unwed. Jones and new wife Joan Horn have owned the house together since 1981.

Who says civil servants are ungrateful? Sewage plant worker James Pieper took out $1,311 worth of ads in Toledo, Ohio, newspapers to thank the city for his $25,471-a-year job. "Thanks, Toledo. For 18 years of generous wages, very liberal working conditions, and much more at your sewage plant," the ad reads. Why is Pieper so grateful? "Over the years I've had four partners that have slept on a regular basis on the shift. I come in, make a half-hour round, and I still have seven and a half hours left to do nothing," says Pieper. Is he worried that his candor might cost him his job? Not in the least. "They won't fire anyone out there for not working," he says. "Why should they fire me for talking about it?"

Jorge Bartlett, a 29-year-old Miami street performer, was convicted of disorderly conduct and fined $77 in court costs. The offense? He gave a convincing performance as a monkey aboard the city's mass transit system. Bartlett claims his monkey imitation is art. But Dade County Court Judge Arthur Winton disagreed. "Usually a clown doesn't run among people," the judge said. No passengers at the Metrorail station said the performance scared them. But police officer John Dolan testified there were "wide-eyed looks of concern." The judge's decision sounds like monkey business to us.

—Mark Edward Crane

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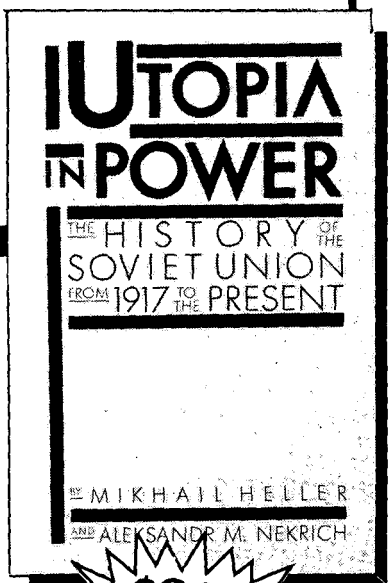

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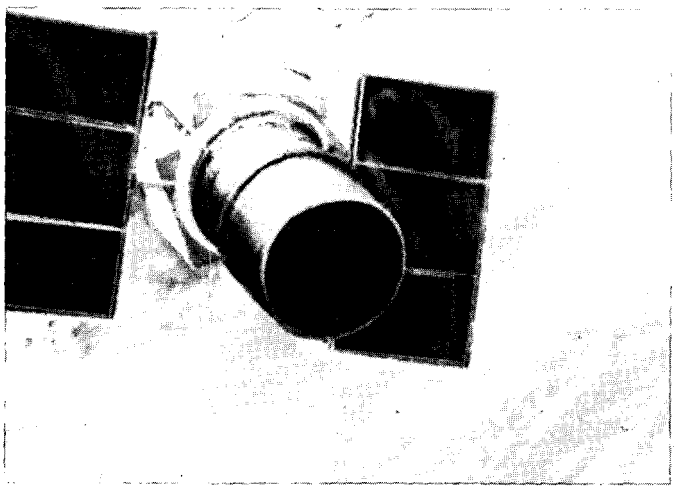
See SPOT. See SPOT Bust a Government Monopoly

When the Ukraine's Chernobyl nuclear power plant sprang a leak last year, Soviet authorities were predictably reticent. Then high-resolution photographs of the accident started showing up on Western television, and the charade that all was well was exposed.



The technology to thank for the Chernobyl pictures is a civilian French eye-in-the-sky satellite named SPOT, launched in February 1986. From an orbiting altitude of 517 miles, SPOT sends back images whose resolution can be enhanced by computer to less than 16 feet—comparable to the precision of some of the spy satellites operated by the U.S. and Soviet governments.

As *Puzzle Palace* author James Bamford pointed out in an essay in the *Los Angeles Times*, "For decades the intelligence agencies of the United States and the Soviet Union held a monopoly on photographic espionage from space." Now SPOT has broken the monopoly—and given citizens access to heretofore top-secret superpower activities.

Since Chernobyl, SPOT has given Western viewers a look at a Soviet nuclear test site, a mysterious space complex, and military facilities along the Kola Peninsula. Previously governments alone had access to such information. Now, news organizations don't need to be dependent on what information governments will release to them.

Of course, satellite technology is a double-edged sword in the Cold War, and that makes American centurions nervous. Satellites that can expose Soviet military buildups or the shifting of forces can do the same to the U.S. military establishment.

But Lt. Gen. James A. Williams, former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, speculates that "commercial use of space photography may be an inhibitor to world conflict." As Bamford quoted Williams: "Suppose we and the Free World had had a commercial capability to monitor the Afghanistan-Soviet border in 1979. It would have been virtually impossible for the Russians to have said they were really not up to anything...when in fact the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, ABC, or anybody else could have said that's a bold-faced lie, we can show you the proof."

Purchases of high-resolution satellites by American news organizations, though still in the talking stage, look likely. Price estimates range from $140 million to $400 million—well below, for instance, ABC's $700-million budget for the 1988 Winter Olympics. Private rocket-launch firms expect network news organizations to be among their initial customers for satellite launching.

The U.S. government, ever alert to possible threats to its cloak of secrecy, may try to throw up a few roadblocks. News organizations will have to obtain a license from the Commerce Department to operate photo-surveillance satellites. Private space firms need similar permission to launch their vehicles. But Commerce, before giving the okay, will check with the State and Defense departments to determine whether the media's exercise of news-gathering rights might endanger that elastic old warhorse, "national security."

The *Los Angeles Times* warns citizens to expect the heavens to be one of the next battlefields in the struggle between the free press and state power. The people start with two advantages: the Constitution is on their side and so are numerous foreign news-gathering services outside the reach of U.S. regulators. The monopoly's already been broken. And if Lieutenant General Williams is right, we're better off even from a foreign-policy point of view.

Rewriting the Medicare Prescription

We pay, pay, pay for our politicians' promises, promises, promises, and the Medicare system is a frightening example of the financial disaster that results from this close-your-eyes-and-make-a-wish behavior. Taxpayers and politicians of all stripes are now asking: How can we prevent Medicare—which has become the primary health insurance for Americans over 65—from becoming Medimess? The National Chamber Foundation (NCF), a public-policy research organization affiliated with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, recently issued a task-force report with a good answer: rein in the government and unleash the free market. "Catastrophic and Long-Term Health Care: Private Sector Alternatives" comes at a propitious moment.

In January 1985, President Reagan had asked Health and Human Services Secretary Otis Bowen to report by year-end "on how the private sector and government can work together" to address the need for catastrophic health insurance—that is, acute-care coverage that exceeds Medicare's limits. In December, Bowen reported back with a grand scheme: have Medicare pay all of a retiree's acute-care costs beyond a $2,000 annual deductible, regardless of his income or assets.

But this expansion of Medicare, like the Medicare system itself, would predictably end up costing taxpayers far more than anticipated. And besides, according to the NCF report, the real

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issue of concern in health care for the elderly lies elsewhere.

About 70 percent of aged Americans already have private "Medigap" coverage for catastrophic expenses. Half of the remaining are covered by Medicaid, and private coverage is available to the rest. But neither Medicare nor most private insurers now provide coverage for the often-devastating costs of *long-term* care, such as nursing homes. The government already pays about half of these expenses, through Medicaid. "And it could hardly be expected to pay for more," notes the NCF report. What to do?

"Fortunately," it continues, "private insurers are starting to develop and offer long-term care insurance with great enthusiasm." The task at hand, then, is to encourage this market response in order "to make private sector financing of such care more feasible and practical."

The NCF report—the product of a task force that included representatives from businesses, taxpayer groups, senior-citizen groups, insurers, and market-oriented public-policy groups—is no theoretical treatise on the virtues of free enterprise but a nuts-and-bolts explanation of just how the market could meet people's needs in this area. The authors outline many policy options, including lifting restrictions on employers' offering retirement health-care benefits as part of company pension plans; introducing Individual Medical Accounts (analogous to Individual Retirement

global trends

Will Polish Polish Off The State?

HELPLESSLY WATCHING the country run out of toilet paper was bad enough, but now the Polish government is *really* up to its eyeballs in...problems. It seems the natives are getting awfully restless about the way their country is run.

According to the *Washington Post*, "a new political movement...has gained the support of thousands of young people here and ushered in a new generation of opposition leadership eager to test communist authorities." Freedom and Peace, which has no formal membership or leadership, has boldly tackled the issues of mandatory military service and the subordination of the army to Soviet commanders—issues previously considered untouchable by leading Polish dissidents.

Formed two years ago, Freedom and Peace is committed to nonviolence and open activity. About two dozen supporters have sent their military service cards back to authorities, and eight have been jailed for refusing to serve in the army or to recite the military oath because it refers to "brotherhood with the Soviet Army." Over 10,000 sympathizers have signed petitions supporting the prisoners, and thousands receive the group's underground publications.

Communist authorities, fearful of the group's potential to collaborate with soul mates in other Soviet Bloc countries and anxious to avoid more political arrests, don't know quite what to do about this new challenge to their power. For example, they fined 11 participants of a sit-in but did nothing when the protestors refused to pay their fines.

Perhaps the officials are too busy battling Poland's underground press. Security police have been trying a new tactic—instead of jailing publishers, they're confiscating distributors' cars. But seven illicit presses are fighting back with a new tactic of their own: they've created an underground insurance company to cover the confiscations. A man associated with Nova, the oldest illegal publishing house, explained it to the *New York Times*: "We decided to combine with some other publishers and pool the risk by creating a sort of Lloyd's of Warsaw. We pay dues and are covered for loss of cars, paper, equipment."

Meanwhile, schools in Poland are no longer the breeding ground for subservience that state officials dream of. The *Washington Post* detailed the example of Lubochnia, where the Catholic Church is winning a 40-year-old struggle with the government over education. "Lubochnia's Institute of Christian Culture is an unofficial but serious community college, and the rural population it serves is gaining a grounding in Polish history, politics and law completely outside the control of communist authorities." The party has tried to compete with the school, but its new Rural Institute of Marxism-Leninism reportedly has had to import teachers as well as students from outside the area.

The church is gaining ground throughout the country. Nearly every diocese holds an annual Week of Christian Culture, with uncensored lectures, plays, and art exhibits. Churches in major cities also sponsor lectures by Catholic or dissident intellectuals on such subjects as ethics, history, and economics. "There was a time when the state was at the point of eliminating religious education," says Bishop Zbigniew Kraszewski, head of Warsaw's church school system. "Now all the children are in our schools, and no one listens to what the state says about it."

When nervous government authorities introduced a "religious studies" course in state schools to cover the "birth, development, and death" of "the social phenomenon" of religion, Kraszewski hardly batted an eye. "If they keep it up," he explained, "we can go on the attack. It will be enough if we start talking in our schools about Marxism. After 40 years of experience, we won't have to go far to find the weak points."

Polish authorities seem to have their hands full trying to squelch dissent. Maybe they should concentrate on alleviating the toilet-paper shortage.

Global Roundup

■ *Free to fly.* Liberalization of Ireland's aviation policy has led to the licensing of Ryanair, a new airline that proposes to offer five new routes at fares significantly lower than established carriers'. And in Australia, new East-West Airlines is challenging the dominance of its two entrenched rivals by providing half-price service on its Sydney-Melbourne route. Several trade and consumer groups in Australia strongly support reform of the country's regulatory policy, and the two opposition political parties endorse the privatization of national airlines.

Accounts), which would encourage people to save during their working years for their retirement health-care needs; creating Health Care Savings Accounts that would give workers the option of substituting private insurance for Medicare; and removing the taxes that most states impose on insurance premiums.

Current demographic trends show that a higher proportion of the population will be elderly in the future and that these elderly will live longer—all of which will put an added strain on Medicare financing. And the Medicare payroll tax already places a heavy burden on today's workers. Allowing the private sector to develop, concludes the report, would facilitate "the 1980s worldwide trend away from bureaucracy and towards the market."

There's No Biz Like Privatization Biz

With the emergence of privatization as a real, live public-policy option, it was only a matter of time before a privatization industry sprang up, clamoring to provide public services more efficiently and less expensively than local government.

Well, time is up. A new New York–based firm, Municipal Development Corporation (MUNI), has become "a pioneer in the emerging growth industry of privatization," according to a research report by brokerage firm McKinley Allsopp, lead underwriter for MUNI's initial public offering. MUNI is unique in that it intends to offer the gamut of privatization services: from acquisition to development to operation of facilities including roads, bridges, water systems, and public buildings.

As MUNI's common-stock prospectus notes, "there are many entities which currently participate in one or more aspects of privatization....However, [MUNI] believes that there are currently no other companies that have been specifically organized to undertake an entire privatization project in the manner contemplated by the Company." The prospectus also predicts: "As the potential for profit through the privatization of entire projects is more widely perceived, a growing number of entrants into the field can be expected."

MUNI's first project is a wastewater treatment facility in

Pasco County, Florida. But perhaps its most radical act has been to propose construction and maintenance of what would be the country's sole private toll road. The 10-mile road, in Loudon County, Virginia, would connect a toll road operated by Dulles Airport with a state highway. It would be owned and oper-

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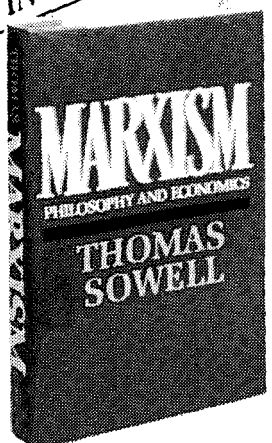

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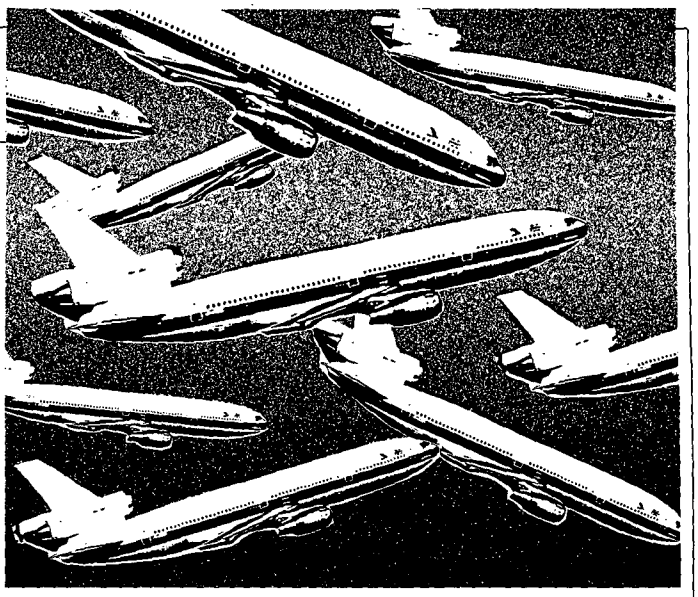

ated by MUNI, though the state would retain the power to set the rules of the road. (No 85-mile-an-hour speed limits, eight-year-old drivers, etc.)

Local officials say the road is badly needed to relieve commuter traffic on a parallel state road. But as MUNI president John D. Miller told the *Washington Post*, "With the incredible federal deficit, they're just not going to be able to throw money at road problems. With many projects...there's no need for the investment of public resources."

And there are other good reasons not to go that route. Virginia road construction schedules call for the state to build the 10-mile Dulles extension by the year 2000; MUNI claims it can do the job, privately, in just four years. MUNI officials have met with Virginia transportation bureaucrats, but they face a number of obstacles, not least of which is a state law forbidding private toll roads.

Whatever the outcome of the MUNI-Virginia negotiations, the privatization business seems here to stay. As the *Post* said of the toll-road discussions, "The fact that the idea could be plausibly suggested reveals how times are changing."

How to Unsnarl Air Traffic Jams

It's 10:15, your plane was supposed to take off at 9:00 and you're still cooling your heels in the airport. A baby is screaming, and the guy next to you keeps blowing smoke in your face. Finally, you get on board. And sit. For 45 minutes in the hot sun. The baby is still screaming—and you know how it feels. You take out the newspaper and read the headline: "Four dead as planes collide."

What's going on here?

Thanks to an inefficient air-transportation system, U.S. air travelers are wasting $500 million to $1 billion of their time a year (depending on whose estimates you believe) hanging around waiting for delayed planes. Meanwhile, the number of near-collisions in midair is at an all-time high, largely because of a shortage of qualified air-traffic controllers that has persisted since the Department of Transportation fired striking union members in 1981—three years after airline deregulation and plummeting prices brought more and more air travelers aloft.

In response, the usual suspects are calling for reregulation of the airlines—despite estimates that deregulation has saved passengers at least $6 billion a year. (See Trends, Dec. 1986.) But the brewing crisis in air traffic may actually end up *increasing* freedom of the skies. Two proposals that would reduce government involvement in air-traffic control are now on the table, and one is a genuinely free-market response to today's problems.

The Air Transport Association (ATA), an airline-industry trade group, wants the the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) to spin off its air-traffic control operations into a federal corporation like Amtrak or the Postal Service. Funded by user fees, this quasi-independent entity would have its own source of revenue and would be exempt from civil service and procurement regulations. So it could more easly upgrade its equipment and workforce.

While the ATA plan would probably improve skyway safety and efficiency somewhat, it wouldn't permit the new corporation to hire back fired controllers. So there would still be a shortage of qualified personnel. Nor would the ATA proposal do anything to reduce overcrowding at airports—the source of many delays.

"What is needed is an enterprise more like Comsat than the Postal Service," argues Robert W. Poole, Jr., president of the Reason Foundation, in a new study that advocates the outright sale of air-traffic control operations. (Among its other activities, the Reason Foundation publishes REASON.) Instead of a federal corporation, Poole advocates a nonprofit cooperative owned by air-system users, including airlines, private pilots, business-aircraft owners, pilots and controllers, and such federal users as the Defense Department and Customs Service.

This new enterprise, dubbed Airways Corp., would be modeled on Aeronautical Radio Inc., a successful user coop created in 1929 to provide communications and navigation services for serveral airlines. Because Airways Corp. wouldn't be part of the government, it could quickly cure the manpower problem by rehiring the fired controllers, as well as retired military controllers whom the FAA won't hire now. (Its employees would have the same rights to organize and strike as any other workers.)

Poole, an MIT-trained aerospace engineer by background, also suggests that the government turn over ownership of landing slots and control towers to the nation's airports, which could then charge market prices to users. Under the status quo, airlines get the use of valuable landing rights for free. This is why there are often many more planes trying to take off and land in peak hours than airport capacity can really handle. The result: all that dead time hanging around with crying babies and cigarette puffers. If airlines had to pay the market price for their landing slots and control-tower use, traffic would even out a bit as more-popular times became more expensive.

Poole's more radical proposal has been widely reported in the aviation press and debated along with the ATA plan in Washington. Congress has until October 1 (when the current law expires) to decide which, if either, of these proposals to adopt. Until then, the future of flying will be, uh, up in the air.

Milestones

■ *Unconstitutional message in bottle.* Random examination of federal employees' urine, ordered by President Reagan last fall in the heat of the war on drugs, "appears to be in serious trouble in the courts," according to the *New York Times.* In at least 13 cases, state and federal judges have ruled the tests violate the Fourth Amendment's search and seizure protections.

—Robert W. Poole, Jr., Lucy Braun, Bill Kauffman, and Virginia I. Postrel

The Capitalist Revolution

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"The New Enlightenment" was produced by London's Diverse Productions, in association with the Reason Foundation. It was broadcast last December on Britain's Channel 4 – and quickly became the country's most talked about television series. Denounced by the left-wing dailies but taken very seriously by other media, it was termed "the most exciting and important non-fiction programme on television" by the *Financial Times*.

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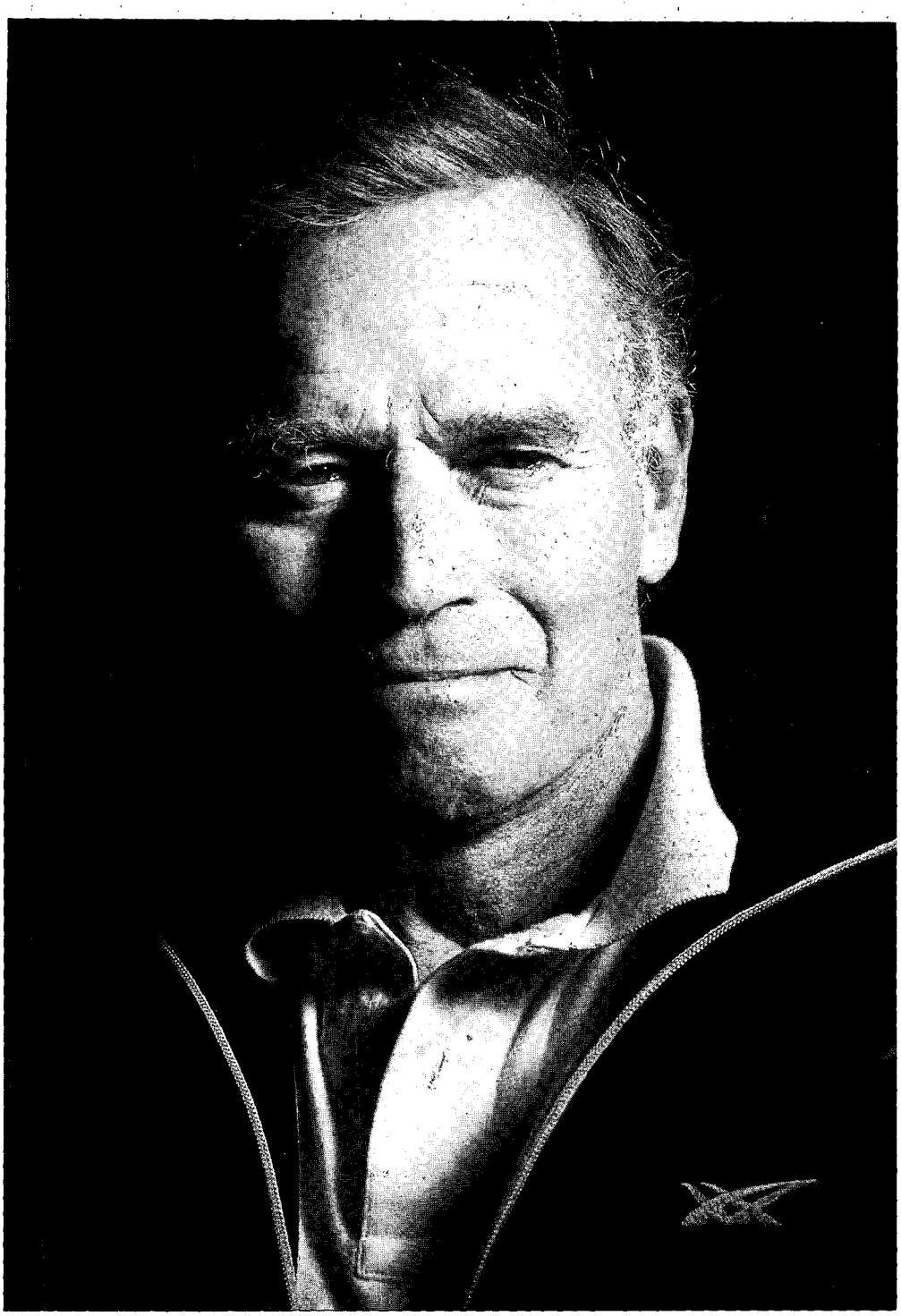


Photographs by Richard Arrindell

Charlton Heston

Politics and religion do mix, at least in Charlton Heston's public persona. Heston's rich voice and face "that belongs to another century," as he's put it, made him a top box-office draw in the 1950s and '60s in the Biblical roles of Moses and John the Baptist. He won an Academy Award as best actor for 1959's Ben Hur, *the pinnacle of a career that now includes more than 50 films.*

Though he will be forever identified with epics and biographical roles (The Ten Commandments, The Greatest Story Ever Told), *some of Heston's most beguiling work was done in smaller, offbeat films—the Westerns* Will Penny *and* Major Dundee *and Orson Welles's* Touch of Evil.

Heston is among the most outspoken and politically active figures in Hollywood. He was prominent in the civil rights movement of the early '60s, heading the arts contingent in the fabled March on Washington in August 1963.

He has since gained the reputation as a leader of Hollywood's right, particularly for his battles with Ed Asner, his fellow former Screen Actors Guild president, over the extent of SAG's political involvement. Heston is a friend and supporter of Ronald Reagan, a fan of William F. Buckley's National Review, *and a fixture in the arts community. He is also active in numerous nonpolitical charitable activities.*

Since the late '60s, Heston has been besieged by politicians of both parties urging him to seek elective office. He has declined each time, his standard disclaimer: "I've played three presidents, three saints, and two geniuses. That should satisfy any man."

Heston is currently starring as the resolute patriarch Jason Colby in ABC-TV's The Colbys. *His voice has lost none of its magisterial resonance, and at six foot three he still cuts a striking figure. He remains married to the former Lydia Clarke, his girlfriend at Northwestern University.*

Charlton Heston was interviewed at his home in Beverly Hills, California, by Assistant Editor Bill Kauffman.

Reason: You seem, from the entries in your diaristic autobiography *The Actor's Life*, to be quite taken with both Jefferson and Andrew Jackson.

Heston: Yes. I've played both men, and thus, possibly, have a special predilection towards them. But I think they are unarguably among our greatest presidents. Certainly Jefferson, largely defined as the only genius ever to occupy the White House.

Reason: His philosophy that "that government is best which governs least"—are you sympathetic with that?

Heston: Oh, I'll sign that any day. There's no question that one of the most pernicious effects of modern society is the seeming impossibility of reversing the tendency of government to get bigger. It has under every administration, I guess, in the history of the Republic—certainly in this century. And despite all the protestations and brave assertions that if I'm elected we will cut big government, which has been included in the platforms of most men who ran for the presidency in the last 30 or 40 years, it doesn't stop.

Reason: Even Ronald Reagan doesn't seem to have made much headway.

Heston: No. No one has had an appreciable effect, even to slow it a little bit. It just goes on growing. And it is terribly wasteful. It's not just the money it costs. It's the wasted manpower, and it renders government clumsy and unresponsive.

Reason: So you have a fairly gloomy view of the prospects for improvement?

Heston: It's hard to be cheerful about it, isn't it? I think it's Parkinson's law that says that work and effort and the manpower applied to it expand exponentially according to the amount of time you give it. The more people you put on it, the more time you give them to do the job, the more job there seems to be to do. I've had more than a little public-sector experience, in organizations like the American Film Institute and the Screen Actors Guild and the National Council for the Arts, which is the body advisory to the National Endowment for the Arts, and a task force I ran, co-chaired with Hanna Gray, on the arts and humanities. I've come to feel very strongly, not as a joke, that if you appoint a committee of more than four people, their efficiency starts to deteriorate.

Reason: That's what's happened to the arts bureaucracy in this country, isn't it?

Heston: Oh yes. But, I'm sure it's true of every bureaucracy, including the armed services, including the financial community, the church, professional sports.

Reason: Does it make sense for government to subsidize the arts?

Heston: So the task force I chaired with

Dr. Gray found, and so I agree. When the president asked me to head that task force, it was widely assumed in the press that we were simply undertaking to do a hatchet job on the arts. In the first place, that would have demonstrated a capacity to reverse bureaucratic expansion, which is impossible. In the second place, it wasn't what we set out to do. We appointed a large committee of quite distinguished administrators. And we concluded that the arts and humanities were a sufficiently valuable national resource to be at least as deserving of federal support as, say medicine and education.

Reason: I wonder, though, if government subsidization doesn't discourage private philanthropy, as it seems to in welfare?

Heston: Well, we found that not to be the case. I think there's a distinct difference between funding for the arts in Europe and here. In Europe, traditionally, the state funded the arts, going back to when the state meant popes and kings. So it's understandable if regrettable that in Europe the state pays for more or less everything, whereas in this country, quite the contrary was true. In the 19th century, there was no thought of government doing it, but there were any number of very wealthy men who were quite happy to do it. And now that the government has picked up a corner of this, there still is a very active role for private corporations.

Reason: What is your political philosophy? You started out as a Stevensonian Democrat, didn't you?

Heston: I did. He was the first presidential candidate I worked for. Twice.

Reason: Glutton for punishment, huh?

Heston: Well, he was an easy man to work for. He was a very attractive public figure. He was a very good speaker. In retrospect I feel that the public in their wisdom had chosen correctly in picking Eisenhower twice. It's a curious thing. We don't think well of our presidents when they are serving. Even Kennedy, with such a short presidency, was beginning to lose his remarkable appeal to the American people when he was suddenly sainted by death. If we look back over the years, at least in my lifetime, Roosevelt was widely vilified. So was Truman. Eisenhower was regarded as a bumbler by large segments of the press. It is curiously true that it is usually the press that leads this assault.

Reason: Well, isn't that their function?

Heston: No, it isn't their function. It is their *right*, but they tend to confuse right with responsibility. It is their right to criticize. It is their right to stand in opposition, but it is not their function.

"We may have to close our borders, literally close them by martial law."

Reason: We are the freer for the fact that the press is skeptical of the government, don't you think?

Heston: We are certainly freer for the fact that they have the right to be skeptical. That it should therefore follow that they become increasingly skeptical is a proposition that I think doesn't stand up under scrutiny.

Reason: Have your views changed since you were a Stevensonian Democrat, or has the Democratic Party changed?

Heston: The latter. I think the Democratic Party has moved sharply to the left in the last 20 years. If you read the inaugural address Jack Kennedy gave, you'll realize he could not possibly have given it on the platform the Democrats concocted at the last convention in San Francisco.

Reason: You were active in the civil rights movement in the early '60s. The Republicans were not involved—the Democrats were on the side of the angels, weren't they?

Heston: Well, I think a great segment of the American people was. A good many southern Democrats had their heels pretty deeply dug in, but it was not really a partisan position. I think it cut pretty broadly across the entire spectrum.

Reason: In retrospect, are you proud of your role in the civil rights movement?

Heston: Yes, I am indeed. Again, I think that movement has become radicalized. I knew Dr. King. I was proud to have followed him. I am very proud of the fact that I led the arts contingent on the civil rights march in the summer of '63. In many ways, I think it was the high-water mark of the civil rights movement. It has been widely credited—that single event—with being responsible for the passage of the Civil Rights Act the following year in the Congress.

Reason: King has been deified by progressives as well as the federal government, with the holiday, while on the right, people like Jesse Helms seem to think that he was a Communist dupe or something.

Heston: I question that. He was not a saint. He was a man, even like Moses was a man. He was a charismatic and effective leader who recognized the importance and

the capacity for nonviolence to succeed. Even men who knew him then, like Jesse Jackson, have not recognized that.

Reason: Are you a disciple of nonviolence?

Heston: No. But Dr. King was. As was Gandhi. Both were fortunate in that they practiced nonviolence against people like Lyndon Johnson and Winston Churchill...

Reason: Rather than Joe Stalin.

Heston: Yeah. Nonviolence is—it's impossible in the world to support such an idea.

Reason: The public perception of you politically is that you are...

Heston: A registered Fascist.

Reason: Are you comfortable with the label "conservative"?

Heston: Yes. Particularly in both its general political meaning and the literal meaning, "to save."

Reason: Although there are some things that aren't worth preserving—segregation laws, things like that.

Heston: Yes, indeed.

Reason: There are a number of people in the film community who have public perceptions as conservatives. My guess is that while you're conservative economically, on the so-called social issues you're probably more tolerant.

Heston: Other than civil rights, which we've been discussing, define social issues.

Reason: The question of whether or not the state should proscribe certain forms of nonaggressive behavior—say, alternative lifestyles or smoking marijuana.

Heston: I think narcotics and, for that matter, alcohol, and even tobacco are enormously costly ingredients in our society.

Reason: But should the government...

Heston: That's what I'm stepping up to. The government not only has the right but the responsibility to take whatever draconian measures are necessary. Abraham Lincoln suspended the right of habeas corpus in the Civil War. Roosevelt spotted German submarines for the British Navy when we were at peace with Germany, and gave 'em 50 destroyers. In what I think is the most serious problem the world faces, which is the population explosion, we will come I think to a time when measures that are not even dreamt of now will become necessary.

Reason: Mandatory abortion?

Heston: Well, I find that difficult too, because I'm opposed to abortion. Even worse than that, we may have to close our borders, literally close them by martial law, and undertake God knows what horrendous—I made a movie about it once called *Soylent Green*. That is my principal political statement in filmmaking. But we may come to that with drugs or the AIDS epidemic.

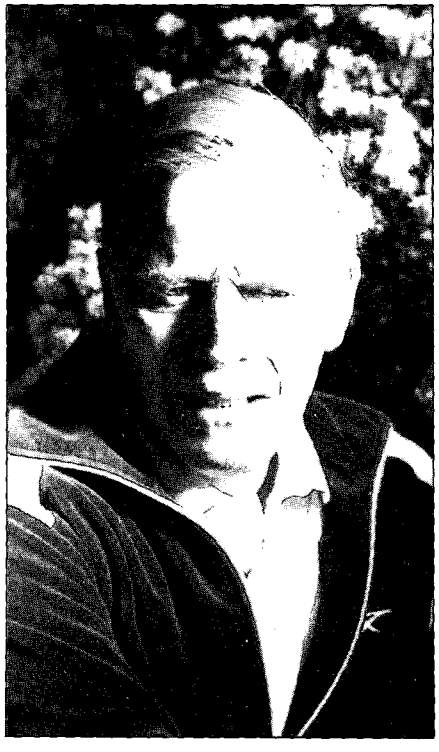
Reason: But something like marijuana?

Heston: Well, I do not share my friend Bill Buckley's view that marijuana should be decriminalized. There was for a time a feeling that certain drugs like marijuana and LSD were essentially harmless. And I think the position on that is changing—the medical position. I suppose we will have to consider steps that we have dropped back from, such as putting really heavy political pressure on the countries—which are fortunately few and small and weak—that are responsible for most of the drug traffic. The profit is so enormous that the traffickers will take enormous risks.

Reason: In part the profit is enormous because it's illegal.

Heston: Of course, I understand that. And I understand that what you might do—it might in the end be cheaper—is to establish free drugs in controlled communities that simply were turned over to drug addicts. It would take a lot of people off the unemployment and welfare rolls too. But, you know, those problems are enormous.

"I do not share my friend Bill Buckley's view that marijuana should be decriminalized."



Reason: The religious right is very concerned now with dirty rock lyrics and things like that. Is that something where you part company with some people on the right?

Heston: I don't think rock music has any positive function, but—the First Amendment does not really say that you can say and print anything you want. For instance, you could not make a movie graphically depicting the torture and murder and sexual abuse of a five-year-old girl. You simply would not be allowed to market such a thing.

Reason: But should you be allowed to market a film that shows an adult male and an adult female engaging in consensual sex?

Heston: I think the filmmakers have discovered, except for the few hard-core pornographic films which appeal to a limited audience, that the mechanics of sex are not as erotic to watch as people imagined.

Reason: They're boring.

Heston: Yeah, they're comical. The physical mechanics of sex are pretty funny unless you are engaged in them. Then they are, of course, marvelous. But in the mainstream film market, certainly in television, sex is handled fairly discreetly now. I think the abuse of extraordinarily graphic violence and language presses much closer to the tolerance of public taste.

Reason: A common complaint is that Hollywood is far more liberal than the rest of the country. Yet a number of recent films seem to celebrate patriotism or some variant thereof. Assuming that most people in the film community are more liberal than the country at large...

Heston: I think that would be an accurate assumption.

Reason: Why are these films being made?

Heston: Because they make money.

Reason: Is that a cynical exploitation of the popular mood, or...?

Heston: The prime motivation in making almost any film is success, because film is the art form of the 20th century. It is also the only art form whose raw materials are so horrendously expensive that the artist cannot afford to buy them for himself. Therefore he must borrow money from someone who expects to get it back, and that's fair. Therefore, it is simply necessary for a film to succeed. Now we've all had individual failures, but you can't have too many, or you don't get any more sets of toy trains to play with.

Reason: You've only made one overtly political film and a couple more with political sub-themes. Is it because you just think those films are usually boring or do you

think that film as a medium, because it's more visual and less verbal, lends itself to the manipulation of emotion and demagoguery? The *China Syndrome*, for instance.

Heston: Well, who said politics was essentially verbal? Lenin in 1921 observed very presciently that motion pictures were the most powerful tool ever invented to shape the way we thought. He was right. Political films can be successful. They're very hard to do because they tend to turn into sermons, which can be very boring. But *Soylent Green* is not boring. The *China Syndrome*, with which I disagree most violently as an undertaking, is not boring.

Reason: How do you think Hollywood portrays business? Is it fair?

Heston: There are now only a few categories of totally acceptable villains. They include Protestant ministers, businessmen, small-town politicians, and military men above the rank of major. That's really about all the villains you can have—except aliens and drug pushers. But I did a miniseries a couple years ago in which I played a man who was a businessman and a small-town politician and a banker to boot.

Reason: The incarnation of pure evil.

Heston: Yes, and yet he was a thoroughly admirable figure. I said this was surely a network prime-time first. And of course in *The Colbys*, I got to invent Jason Colby.

Reason: Who is a sympathetic figure.

Heston: Who is a sympathetic figure who can be ruthless in business but unlike Larry Hagman in *Dallas* and Blake Carrington in *Dynasty*, Jason Colby will not lie or cheat to achieve his end. He will be uncaring of the business fate of a rival, but he is a man who does his best and keeps his promises and whose goal is to go through his own front door every night justified.

Reason: Why do you think series like *Dynasty* and *The Colbys* and *Dallas*—this genre of rich businessmen and established families...

Heston: Lives of the very rich.

Reason: Why are people interested in that?

Heston: Well, Esther Shapiro, who was responsible for inventing *Dynasty* and *The Colbys* says her inspiration was that marvelous BBC miniseries, *I, Claudius*. Because, she said, it is about very rich, very powerful, absolutely ruthless people who indulge their ambitions, their physical appetites, untrammeled. And she said in the modern world, politicians do not have that kind of ugly way, but the very rich do. And she's quite right. And there's the pleasure of the opulent rooms and the beautiful

"You are the stuff of their fantasies, you reward them, you entertain them, that's what your function is."

gowns and the Rolls Royces and the private jets. They like to watch that kind of carryings on. Curiously enough, in the beginning, *Dynasty* had an extensive story line involving the oil workers—the drillers on the rigs and so on—but they found that every time they did one of those stories, people were not so interested.

Reason: Do you think many of the people who watch these shows compare the luxury and the opulence on the screen to their own ordinary lives, and is that healthy?

Heston: Well, we saw the same thing in the '30s, didn't we, when there were all kinds of movies when unemployment was high and people were hungry? Ordinary middle-class people were living on the edge of poverty, and many movies were about rich heiresses and madcap playboys and people dashing about on ocean liners and dancing in white tie and tails and standing in beautiful rooms wearing beautiful clothes saying beautiful things to beautiful women. And the success of shows like *Dynasty* and *The Colbys* is based on the same thing.

Reason: Did you have any misgivings about getting back into television?

Heston: No. Of course, I began in live television.

Reason: The Golden Age.

Heston: The Golden Age that was also described at the same time as a vast wasteland by the chairman of the FCC. Now, had I not been able to acquire the creative controls that I have, I wouldn't have done it at all.

Reason: By starring in a weekly TV series, you sort of become part of a lot of people's families in absentia. How do you feel about that?

Heston: Well, no matter where an audience sees you—on stage or in that lovely intimate story-telling darkness of a movie theater, or in someone's bedroom—you are, to a certain extent, their property. You are the stuff of their fantasies, you reward them, you entertain them. My dissatisfaction with television as a medium has nothing to do with the audience or the fact that you don't require as much time to do it as you do a movie, but with its technical limitations.

Reason: Do you enjoy being a public person, both with your movie career and political activism?

Heston: I've been a public person for most of my life now. It has advantages and disadvantages. I can't take my kids to Disneyland. On the other hand, I can get a table at a restaurant or tickets to a play. You have to be very careful to view yourself with a somewhat skeptical eye and to

remember that you're not here taking down everything I'm saying because you think I'm such a marvelous fellow but because your editors say go get 1,200 words or whatever on Chuck Heston. It skews not only the way you look at yourself, but the way other people look at you. In the case of other people, by and large, unless you're an awful horse's ass, they look at you for the better and say and think very nice things about you, but you have to bear in mind those things aren't necessarily true.

Reason: What do you think the public perception of you is?

Heston: The vast majority of the audience thinks I am a marvelous fellow. A considerable majority of serious Democrats think I'm a registered Fascist—but not all. It's surprising, when I was considering running for the Senate—a notion which I didn't really consider very long—a good number of Democratic friends of mine said things like, "We've never voted for a Republican in our lives, but we'll vote for you," which is naturally gratifying.

Reason: I wonder if it's like the conservative football players or athletes who've gotten into politics and are generally much more liberal on things like civil rights because, as someone once said, they've showered with black guys.

Heston: I suppose that might be true. You know, you could readily construct an argument that actors tend, certainly on civil rights, to see them as a desirable thing because actors themselves have been and continue to be the victims of discrimination. I have played in a summer theater where there was a street in the town the actors weren't supposed to cross. The community was a very conservative Amish community, but they liked coming to the theater and they liked to have the theater there, but they didn't want them screwing their daughters, or indeed even walking on the same street with them.

Reason: Which would inevitably lead to screwing them.

Heston: Yes. And actors are widely regarded as drunks, braggarts, and wife stealers.

Reason: To what extent is that true?

Heston: Probably to some extent! Actors, after all, began as itinerant vagabonds wandering from village to village, when most people never moved more than five or ten miles from the place they were born. And actors wandered around sleeping in stables, gulling the locals with the old three-walnut-shells-and-a-pea gag and doing somersaults and walking on their hands and then sleeping in the stable—if possible, with one of the local girls.

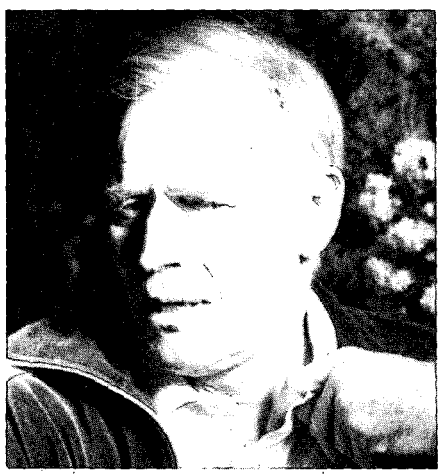
Reason: Is there a tendency to patronize the audience and to assume that the audience is less bright and less hip than the people onstage?

Heston: I don't know that that's true. I think we all like to think of ourselves as pretty knowing people, and actors are no exception, but actors are themselves patronized. Look at how firmly set is the obviously incorrect presumption that for some reason, actors are unqualified for political service, when obviously they're better qualified than most people because of their clear communication skills. Performance skills are widely deplored, even by politicians, but you cannot be effective as a political leader without them. Winston Churchill was an extraordinary actor. So is Castro. So was De Gaulle. Roosevelt. Jack Kennedy. Even to the extent of readily identifiable props and wardrobe. Castro hasn't been in the Sierra Maestra for 25 years, but he still goes around in combat fatigues—and so he should.

Reason: Do you look on interviews as duties that you have to carry out unenthusiastically?

Heston: Well, it depends on the forum involved. Your magazine interests me politically, and it's a serious magazine of opinion. But, like anything else, some interviews are more interesting and equal than others. People assume that actors are automatically good at doing interviews and public speeches. That's really not true. It's a separate skill you have to learn. Like many actors, I am, in fact, a somewhat shy person, but I have learned to be a public person. God knows I've had enough practice at it.

"There's no question that one of the most pernicious effects of modern society is the seeming impossibility of reversing the tendency of government to get bigger."



Reason: Well, since you've had so much practice, I'll ask you one question I'm sure everyone has asked you. What's been your favorite role and what are you most proud of?

Heston: That's difficult. It's a hard question because roles please you for different reasons. If they're very successful, either financially or in terms of winning prizes, both those things are valuable in a material as well as an ego sense. If you do a role that's a very difficult role and it comes out well, that's of course rewarding. If you do some of the great classical roles, you're joining a line of actors that goes back for centuries. I'm as proud of the fact that I have done three Shakespearian films as I am of anything else. The fact that I've done maybe a dozen or so biographical films is rewarding to me. I'm also pleased that I've made pictures that have won prizes and made a lot of money. But not all of those parts were as creatively difficult as, say, playing Antony or Macbeth.

Reason: Any great characters that you've always wanted to play and fear that you'll never get the chance?

Heston: I surely now will never play Othello. It would be very difficult for any white actor this side of Laurence Olivier to play Othello. The great Shakespearian roles, you have to have worked on all your life, as I have Macbeth. Realistically, you want to stick to the parts that you have already devoted years of work to, because the parts are such man-killers.

Reason: One of the most striking images in any of your films is at the end of *Planet of the Apes*, where Taylor stands in the sand and looks at...

Heston: Oh yes. "Damn you, goddam you all to hell!"

Reason: ...at the decaying and forgotten Statue of Liberty. It's a very pessimistic film. Is that your worldview, with your worries about the population crisis and such?

Heston: Well, I think it's a distinct possibility. I guess the sum of my opinion in that area is that I believe profoundly and absolutely in the capacities of the individual man, the extraordinary man—but I'm very skeptical about mankind. ◻

CONSTITUTION

SERIES

1787-1987

Did the Constitution Betray the Revolution?

Yes

The Constitution as counterrevolution: A tribute to the Anti-Federalists

The standard American myth celebrates the Constitution as the triumphant culmination of the American Revolution. This is largely untrue and misleading.

The alleged "critical period" between the end of the Revolution and the Constitution's adoption was *not* dominated by economic depression, political turmoil, and international peril, jeopardizing the independent survival of the American experiment in liberty. Those who assembled at the Philadelphia Convention to write a new Constitution were *not* disinterested demigods, nor did they intend to establish a federal system of divided government powers. The Constitution did *not* have the support of most Americans. And finally, rather than representing the culmination of the previous Revolution, the Constitution represented a reactionary counter-

(Continued on page 30)

by **Jeffrey Rogers Hummel**

No

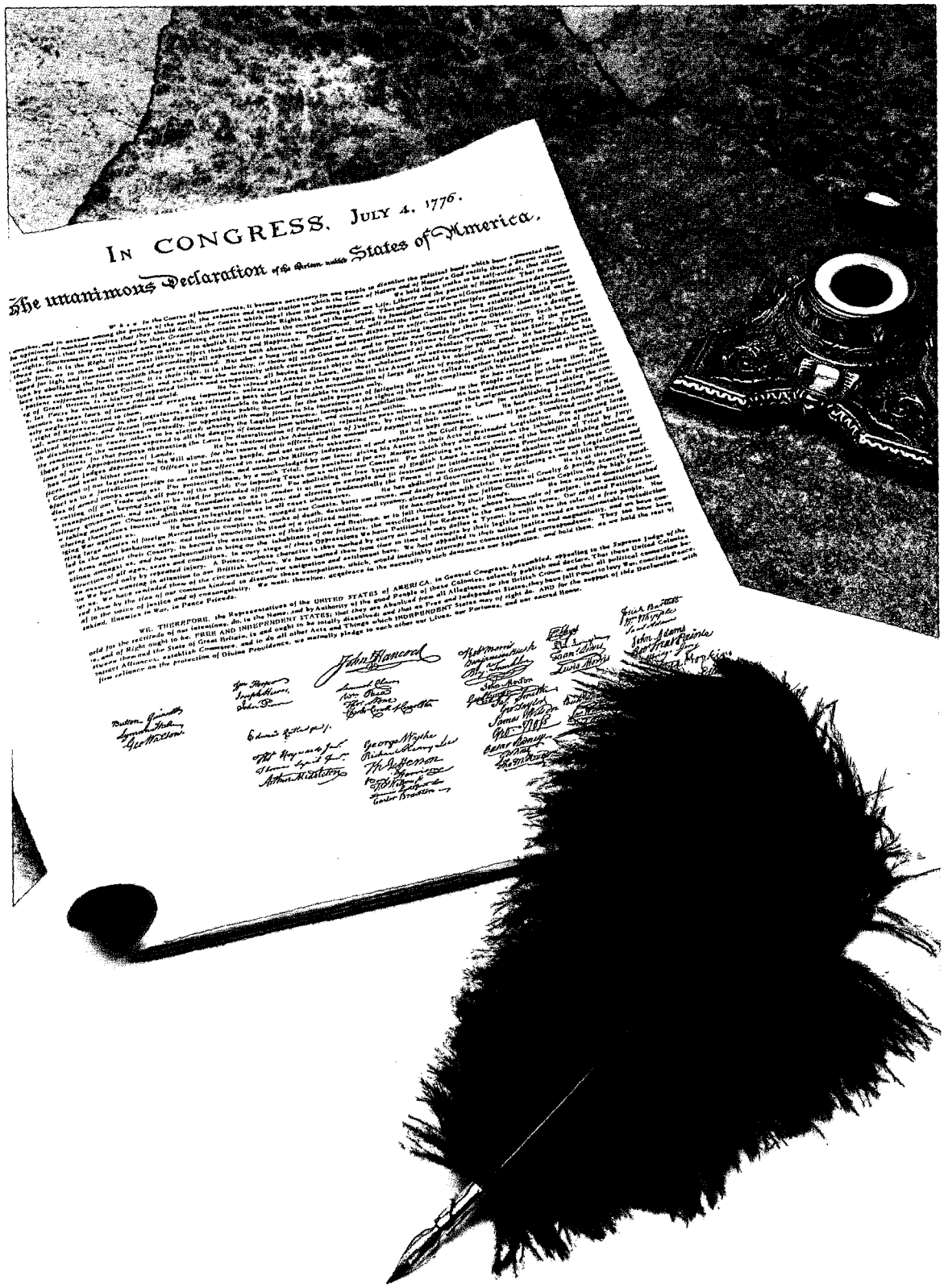
Making liberty work: The Constitution as resolution of revolutionary debates

The interpretation of the constitutional movement as an elitist plot to push through a national government was first voiced by some of its opponents and is still with us today. A corollary of that view is the belief that the Constitution represented a betrayal of the Revolutionary principles of 1776.

Any answer to this question must begin with an examination of just what the Revolutionary principles of 1776 were. The great document of that year was, of course, the Declaration of Independence. That statement, however, was hardly a blueprint for government. Placed at the beginning of a myriad of reasons for separation from Great Britain was the famous passage about self-evident truths such as "that all men are created equal" and that their Creator endowed them with "certain unalien-

(Continued on page 33)

by **William Marina**


IN CONGRESS. JULY 4. 1776.
The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

CARL MORENO

revolution against its central principles.

The American Revolution, like all great social upheavals, was brought off by a disparate coalition of competing viewpoints and conflicting interests. At one end of the Revolutionary coalition stood the American radicals—men such as Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, Richard Henry Lee, and Thomas Jefferson.

Although by no means in unanimous agreement, the radicals objected to excessive state power in general and not simply to British rule in particular. Spearheading the Revolution's opening stages, they were responsible for the truly revolutionary alterations in the internal status quo: the abolition of slavery in the northern states, the separation of church and state in the southern states, the rooting out of remaining feudal privileges everywhere, and the adoption of new, republican state constitutions containing written bills of rights that severely hemmed in government power.

At the other end of the Revolutionary coalition were the American nationalists —an array of mercantile, creditor, and landed interests. The nationalists went along with independence but opposed the Revolution's libertarian thrust. They sought a strong American state with the hierarchical features of the 18th-century British state, only without the British.

The Revolution started out as a struggle against taxation. What passed among the newly independent American states for a central government, the Second Continental Congress, did not have access even to this usual state power. For revenue, Congress initially had to rely on requisitions from the state governments, which could not get away with very extensive taxation themselves.

Yet the military strategy adopted by Congress required large expenditures. Military conservatives such as George Washington induced Congress to focus the Revolutionary effort on a costly conventional force, the Continental Army, rather than the militias. By the 1781 Yorktown campaign, popular disgust at the army's continuing hand-to-mouth existence gave the nationalists uncontested control of Congress. They proceeded to implement a financial program that gave the central government much more power.

Already, the Revolution had taken an important step in this direction with the drafting of the Articles of Confederation, a written constitution. Here we encounter the first distortion in America's constitutional myth. The Articles left Congress not too weak, as defenders of the Constitution claim, but too strong: the Articles made the central government permanent; and an influential nationalist faction—land speculators—delayed ratification until Congress was given direct jurisdiction over the states' western lands. The Articles' only saving grace was that they failed to give Congress any authority to collect taxes or regulate trade.

An influential nationalist faction—land speculators—delayed ratification until Congress was given direct jurisdiction over the states' western lands.

At the time of the Articles' adoption, the most powerful nationalist in Congress was Robert Morris, a wealthy Philadelphia merchant. Congress appointed him head of the newly created Department of Finance, from which post he became a virtual financial dictator. The central government's functions were concentrated within his and other new executive departments, which Morris filled with his allies and partners.

The linchpin of Morris's financial system was the power of taxation. Only thus could the nationalists' desired centralization of power be consummated. An amendment to the Articles granting Congress the power to impose an import duty looked in 1782 like it would receive the required unanimous approval of the states, but tiny Rhode Island held out.

Morris and the nationalists made a last-ditch effort in March 1783 to coerce the states with the Continental Army, then encamped at Newburgh, New York. They encouraged a plot among Washington's officers, and a military coup loomed on the horizon. The radical suspicion of standing armies stood fully vindicated, for never has the United States been closer to succumbing to an American Caesar. At this point, however, Washington, although firmly endorsing nationalist goals, balked. His personal intervention caused the Newburgh conspiracy to disband.

Peace unraveled Morris's financial and military program. As the war wound down, the financial pressure on the national government, and the apparent need to grant taxing power to Congress, diminished. The nationalists lost control of Congress in late 1783, and Morris resigned his post after an incriminating investigation into his financial machinations. Congress wisely discharged most of what was left of the Continental Army.

Unfortunately, the war-induced nationalization of the Northwest lands had shifted the burden of policing that territory from the states to a national force. So Congress authorized a small frontier constabulary to be raised from the state militias for fixed periods. (The still-unceded Southwest territory got along fine without congressional attention.) Eastern land speculators, however, found the Northwest force insufficient to protect their vast claims from Indians, squatters, and foreign intrigue. They looked forward instead to a strong standing army.

In this desire, they were joined by many of the Continental Army's former officers. Chastened but not repentant after the Newburgh conspiracy, they had organized a hereditary fraternal association, the Society of the Cincinnati. Through this new nationalist pressure group, they campaigned for a military capable of quelling domestic disturbances and rivaling European armies.

Financially, one of the nationalists' most potent political weapons was the enduring Revolutionary war debt. Once Congress repudiated the paper money it had issued during the war, there should have been no obstacle to repudiating the debt as well. After all, the states, at Congress's behest, had forced paper money upon the people with price controls and legal-tender laws. Moreover, a big chunk of the $35-million debt came from Congress's profligate promise of five years' pay to army officers. Still worse, $11 million resulted from loans that had generally been made with depreciated currency. This was an overestimate by as much as 75 percent of their real specie worth and thus a generous subsidy to creditors. From the standpoint of equity, the paper-money claims had clear priority over the debt.

The prospect of the states themselves paying off the war debt was more likely than repudiation. When Morris took his post, the state governments had already retired, by taxation, significant parts of the national debt. The nationalists, how-

ever, vigorously opposed state assumption, for it would diminish the prestige of the central government. Morris effectively forestalled repudiation and state assumption. The lingering national debt provided both a continuing rationale for national taxation and another special interest supporting it.

Shays'

Rebellion, according to the nationalist rendition, was an egalitarian assault on the property rights of creditors.

An equally persuasive rationale for a more powerful central government was trade regulation. Indeed, subsequent accounts have blown this rationale up into an utterly fanciful picture of competing trade barriers between the various states disrupting the American economy. The two factual instances on which this overblown picture is largely based involve New York and Connecticut, which taxed *foreign* goods entering from neighboring states—an economically insignificant restriction. The prevailing rule prior to the Constitution was complete free trade among the states.

If a general reduction in trade restrictions was what the nationalists were really after, this would hardly have justified a central government with the power to tax. In reality, American merchants were after uniform navigation laws, because they wanted some coercive means of monopolizing the American carrying trade. And American artisans wanted uniform protective tariffs to stop their customers from buying the cheap foreign goods flooding American markets at the end of the war. The unique economic fortunes of these two groups and their quest for special privileges contributed much to the exaggerated impression of postwar depression.

Despite the coalescing of these various war-engendered interests, all their direct efforts to strengthen the Articles of Confederation proved futile. Radicals effectively blocked a second proposed taxing amendment and a proposal to give Congress authority to regulate trade. Congress defaulted on interest payments for the domestic debt in 1782 and for the foreign debt in 1784. At times, Congress could not even carry on business for lack of a quorum.

Consequently, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, assuming leadership of the nationalists, made an end run around the Articles and called for a special convention to meet in Philadelphia. Assisting them was a growing antidemocratic mood throughout the country. Many Tories had returned to political life, and although they had bitterly opposed independence, they still shared the political vision of the nationalists. An even greater cause of disillusionment with democracy was the outbreak of Shays' Rebellion in western Massachusetts in 1787.

Shays' Rebellion, according to the nationalist rendition, was an egalitarian assault on the property rights of creditors. This rendition has some factual basis, but not much, for it ignores the decisive role of a contemporaneous fiscal crisis at the state level. The state governments had acquired substantial war debts of their own. This required a tax burden undreamed of before the war. Seven states, beginning in 1785, issued new rounds of paper money, which either substituted for taxes directly or, when loaned by the states to landowners, offered something other than scarce specie for paying taxes.

Massachusetts, however, was not one of the states issuing paper money—or giving any other kind of taxpayer relief. Moreover, its taxes fell inequitably on the state's agrarian sector. The Revolutionary historian Merrill Jensen estimates that at least a third of the average Massachusetts farmer's monetary income went to taxes after 1780. Here at last we find a substantial basis for the tale of a "critical period" depression. With postwar deflation, it was a fortunate farmer who could obtain enough specie to pay both his taxes and his debts. Shays' Rebellion was in essence a tax revolt.

The incident alarmed America's governing classes. Prior to the rebellion's outbreak, only Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey had chosen delegates to the Philadelphia Convention. Subsequently, every state except Rhode Island sent delegates, and Congress even endorsed the convention.

Its official function was to propose revisions to the Articles. But the delegates, meeting in secret, quickly decided to draft a totally new document. Of the 55 delegates, only 8 had signed the Declaration of Independence. Most of the leading radicals, including Sam Adams, Henry, Paine, Lee, and Jefferson, were absent. In contrast, 21 delegates belonged to the militarist Society of the Cincinnati. Overall, the convention was dominated by the array of nationalist interests that the prior war had brought together: land speculators, ex-army officers, public creditors, and privileged merchants.

These interests wanted to establish a consolidated government under which the states would be subordinate, like counties and local governments within the states. But as with the Revolution itself, the Constitution eventually turned into the hybrid product of a disparate coalition. The nationalist dream of replacing the Articles' guarantee of full state sovereignty with a fully sovereign national government slowly eroded. Some of this erosion occurred just as America's constitutional myth has it, through the compromises worked out within the Philadelphia Convention. But most occurred outside the convention, through a subtle process of reinterpretation, when the nationalists were compelled to defend their completed handiwork to the public.

Most Americans opposed a sovereign national government. The nationalists thus pulled off a significant linguistic coup by successfully seizing for themselves the label "Federalist." They had designed the Constitution to replace the *federal* system of government under the Articles of Confederation with a *national* system. The true defenders of federalism were therefore the

The

nationalists encouraged a plot among Washington's officers, and a military coup loomed on the horizon.

Constitution's opponents. One disgruntled "Anti-Federalist," Elbridge Gerry, suggested that because one group was for ratifying while one was against, "their names ought not to have been distinguished by Federalists and Anti-Federalists, but Rats and Anti-Rats."

The Anti-Federalists weakened their own case by admitting the need for some

additional national power in order to make the central government independent of the state governments. This permitted the Federalists/nationalists to deny vigorously but disingenuously that the Constitution would subordinate the states. Instead, it would create a delicate balance of powers between the national and state governments, each sovereign within its own realm. In other words, the much-touted federalism of the U.S. system was in no way an intended consequence of the Philadelphia Convention. It was an unintended and insincere concession that the Anti-Federalists wrenched from the Federalists during the ratification struggle.

This Federalist equivocation over the powers granted the national government spilled over into the most controversial issue of the ratification struggle—the Constitution's omission of a bill of rights. The Federalists defended this omission with the claim that the Constitution provided a government possessing only specifically enumerated powers. As a result, argued Hamilton in *The Federalist* No. 84, a bill of rights would be positively harmful. "They would contain various exceptions to powers which are not granted," implying that the national government could do anything not specifically prohibited.

The trouble with this argument was that it contradicted a second Federalist argument based on the explicit words of the Constitution. In the very same *Federalist* paper, Hamilton pointed out that the Constitution already contained a truncated bill of rights scattered throughout its clauses. There was a prohibition against ex post facto laws and bills of attainder, a ban on religious tests for holding office, guarantees of habeas corpus and jury trials in criminal cases, etc.

The Federalists were able to ram the Constitution through the first five state conventions in rapid succession. But by the time the Constitution was under consideration in the key states of Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York, they were in trouble. To secure ratification, they had to promise to amend the Constitution. Overall, five states coupled their ratifications with proposed amendments, while in two others, the minority issued amendments. The North Carolina convention refused to ratify at all without a bill of rights similar to the one it drew up, and Rhode Island would have nothing whatsoever to do with the Constitution.

The proposed amendments often went far beyond a simple bill of rights. In particular, a curb on the national government's taxation power found unanimous support. The near-addition of a taxing power to the Articles of Confederation indicates that even many Anti-Federalists had been willing to permit the central government to collect import duties. They insisted that all internal taxes, however, be at the discretion of the state governments.

Only *the politically astute Madison seemed to realize that the popular demand for a bill of rights must be fulfilled.*

Unable to defeat the Constitution in the ratifying process, the Anti-Federalists hoped to enact these drastic amendments, stripping the central government of many of its new powers, through a convention to be called by two-thirds of the states. Thus they pinned their hopes on a second constitutional convention that would undo the work of the first. New York, Virginia, North Carolina, and Rhode Island all promptly called for such a convention. However, because North Carolina and Rhode Island had not ratified the Constitution, their endorsements did not count toward the requisite total. Having made the tactical decision to work within the legal framework of the new Constitution, the Anti-Federalists discovered that the legitimacy they had conferred on the new government worked against them.

At the other end of the political spectrum, many ardent Federalists were quite prepared to renege on their solemn promises to amend the Constitution now that their new national government was in operation. Only the politically astute Madison seemed to realize that the popular demand for a bill of rights must be fulfilled. While privately complaining about "the nauseous project of amendments," Madison culled through the more than 200 state proposals, eliminating any that, in his words, might "endanger the beauty of the Government." He successfully steered the resulting Bill of Rights through Congress. Although these widely publicized amendments would not be ratified for several years, they mollified many opponents of the new government.

Most of the Bill of Rights restricted the national government's authority over its subjects. Only one part dealt with the relationship between the states and central government: the Tenth Amendment. A similar clause had been part of the Articles, and every state ratifying convention that proposed amendments to the Constitution had requested just such a change. But Madison worded the amendment skillfully, to calm opponents of the Constitution without detracting one iota from the power of the national government. Whereas the Articles had guaranteed states' "sovereignty, freedom and independence," the Tenth Amendment only "reserved" to the states or people all the powers not "delegated to the United States by the Constitution." Obviously, how much the amendment furthered states' rights depended on how much power the Constitution granted to the national government in the first place.

Meanwhile, the Federalists took quick advantage of the Constitution's unequivocal establishment of an independent executive and a central taxing authority. Washington was elected president, and he appointed Hamilton Treasury secretary. Hamilton resurrected Morris's entire financial program. Its central feature was still the national debt. The interest alone accounted for almost half of the new government's expenditures, which the Federalists financed by imposing a tariff and a variety of internal taxes.

Any doubts about the national government's grandeur were dramatically dispelled in 1794, when it smashed the Whiskey Tax Rebellion in western Pennsylvania. In the long run, however, the whiskey tax and other excises proved to be the Federalists' undoing. On the basis of popular opposition to these internal taxes, Jefferson was able to organize a new political party promoting radical republicanism. Joining him was Madison, who switched sides from the Federalists to the Republicans.

The Republicans' decade-long struggle against the Federalists culminated in Jefferson's election as president in 1800, and they proceeded to dismantle much of the Federalist state. In particular, they repealed all internal taxes. From then until the Civil War (except for a brief moment during the subsequent War of 1812), the national government's sole sources of revenue would remain import duties and the sale of public lands.

In short, the Anti-Federalists lost on the ratification question, but they won the question of how the Constitution would operate in practice. The Tenth Amendment symbolized this victory. True, on a purely literal level it did nothing to restrain the national government. But on a deeper, symbolic level, it indicated that the Constitution had not ushered in a consolidated national system of government but a truly federal system. To exaggerate only slightly, the Federalists got their Constitution, but the Anti-Federalists determined how it would be interpreted.

Of course, even an Anti-Federalist interpretation of the Constitution left a central government that was unnecessarily strong. But if, in this bicentennial year, Americans wish to celebrate a document that once limited the power of the state, they should not pay tribute to the so-called Federalists who wrote the document in order to undermine such limitations. They instead should pay tribute to the Anti-Federalist opponents of the Constitution. To the extent that the Constitution ever actually limited the national government, we have only them to thank.

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No *(Continued from page 28)*

able Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." Just what this would mean about the government of this new nation was not self-evident at all.

Despite the belief of some contemporary neoconservatives, among them Irving Kristol, that the American Revolution was different from others, by their very nature revolutions are fought by coalitions, whose elements have a variety of views about the nature of the good society. Sometimes all that unites the revolutionaries is their opposition to the old regime.

Americans of that generation no doubt overwhelmingly agreed with Jefferson about "life" and "liberty," but we have been contending ever since about the meaning of "created equal." And as the historian Merrill Jensen has observed, Jefferson "abandoned the traditional formula that the purpose of government was the protection of life, liberty, and property," substituting instead "the pursuit of happiness," a much less controversial point. Further, he notes, Jefferson "did not use the word democracy, but others did so."

One might add that he did not use *republican* either, which was certainly more consistent with the opposition tradition he represented than was *democracy*. Quite apart from the fact that his purpose was to declare independence, not to discuss forms of government, including terms such as *property* would have been divisive to the coalition he was addressing.

Writing in the 1830s, Alexis de Tocqueville observed that equality was the motivating principle of human action in America and would soon extend itself throughout the world. The Declaration of Independence was evidence of its importance in the American Revolution, and it has been the engine of revolutions throughout history. The recurring question in all such revolutions for social change, however, has been whose definition of equality within the coalition would prevail.

Thus, for example, the Peasants' Revolt in the late 14th century began as a rather bourgeois protest in the towns of the eastern British nation against increased taxes and wage and price controls, which had been Richard II's response to the labor shortage and rising wages resulting from the Black Death. The elimination of a few tax collectors was essentially a defense of property rights, hardly a bloodbath to eliminate all social distinctions. It might have been successful if the townspeople had had any real supply of weapons. As that initial protest receded, radical priests roused the peasants in the countryside with a much more egalitarian program, which was not supported by the towns, and the movement was brutally suppressed by the government.

These same differences about what constitutes equality and the nature of the "good society" were evident in the English Revolution almost three centuries later. The revolutionary coalition ranged from conservatives on the right, who hoped to emerge as leaders in a Protestant revolution that would maintain many of the inequalities of the old order; through those libertarian-equalitarians of the middle, curiously described as Levellers because they wished to eliminate social and legal distinctions based on birth; to the religious, communist, egalitarian Diggers and Jesus-men on the extreme left.

Oliver Cromwell first compromised with the right wing of the coalition, and after his death further compromises resulted in a return of the monarchy. Thus was frustrated not only the egalitarianism of the smaller groups on the left, but also the equalitarian views of the much larger group of revolutionaries in the center.

Three decades after Cromwell's death, the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 affirmed the ultimate power of Parliament over the king and heralded an almost century-long struggle between "court" and "country," mirrored by the development of political parties, Tory against Whig. Then as now, two parties were an awkward dichotomy within which to express the variety of contending interests—agrarian and mercantile, king and Parliament, established religion and proponents of greater religious freedom, to name a few. John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon's *Cato's Letters*, later so popular in America, opposed the political-party jobbery and corruption so characteristic of this period and set the tone for groups opposing royal prerogatives in the emerging colonies.

English preoccupation with revolution in the 17th century, and later a long period of "salutary neglect," allowed the Americans an unusual degree of economic and political growth and participation compared to the colonies of other nations. Under such circumstances, a large part of the American population came to perceive their rights as Englishmen in terms of a liberal Whig worldview. As recent writers such as J.G.A. Pocock have emphasized, this worldview went back at least as far as Machiavelli and Florentine republicanism.

Indicative of some of the unresolved tensions in this outlook was an agrarian orientation manifested in Jefferson and later Jeffersonian leaders. The extreme wing spoke of "the Agrarian law," an egalitarian commitment to level society by a radical program of land redistribution in the belief that republican virtue could not exist in an environment characterized by extreme differences between the rich and the poor. While more moderate republicans distrusted such "court" jobbery as the financial manipulation inherent in the creation of the credit structure of the Bank of England, the agrarians, often even moderates such as Jefferson, distrusted not only banking but also commerce and industry.

For the better part of a century, the American colonials disputed the unresolved equalitarian questions of the English Revolution. The meetings of the Revolutionary Congress took place within the context of a continuing debate in America, focused around greater popular rep-

resentation for both western settlements and emerging urban groups in an increasingly stratified society.

One of the major differences was with respect to property. While some radicals argued for popular political participation regardless of property qualifications, others suggested that the best way to achieve this was to distribute property to those who lacked it. More moderate leaders such as John Adams argued for a balanced republican government that would reflect the several orders of society.

Merrill Jensen, in *The American Revolution Within America*, is quite right that "serious debate over a central government began at the First Continental Congress in 1774." The exodus of the Loyalists weakened the elements seeking a "balanced" constitution, and, Jensen notes, "to assume, as has been done, that Americans were a united people in 1776 and dedicated to the establishment of a single form of republican government, is an assumption that is unjustified by the evidence."

Further, he observes, a writer such as Gordon Wood, in *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1789*, "emphasizes the unity among Americans and virtually ignores the sharp debates in 1775 and 1776 over the nature of the constitutions to be created, and the concern of practical politicians with such matters as suffrage, representation, local self-government, and the balance of power between those elected to office and the voters who elected them."

The Revolutionary movement was not monolithic. As Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* was pushing independence early in 1776, John Adams's *Thoughts on Government* was a statement of the balanced-government position. The draft for the Articles of Confederation, authored by John Dickinson, gave wide-ranging powers to the Congress. The ensuing discussion, Jensen notes, focused on "issues that Americans continued to debate for decades thereafter, most notably in the [Constitutional] Convention of 1787," and seven of the members of that Congress attended the later meeting. The Congress deadlocked on the draft of the Articles in the summer of 1776, although it did pass a Declaration, whose wording sought to maximize agreement within the Revolutionary coalition.

In an unstable military situation, Congress had to flee ahead of the British army and did not complete the Articles of Confederation until November of 1777. The Articles were then sent to the state legislatures for ratification. Thomas Burke had altered the Dickinson draft by inserting what became Article Two: "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation *expressly delegated* to the United States, in Congress assembled [emphasis added]."

For

lack of literacy, Paine's "Common Sense" had to be read to groups of American soldiers.

Ten years later an attempt was made to add that phrase to what became the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, but it was defeated. The debate over that small phrase, however, demonstrated two distinctly different conceptions of the proper relationship between the central government and the state governments.

The Articles were not ratified until early in 1781, only after the large states had agreed to renounce their claims to vast tracts of land in the West. Under the exigencies of war, both the Declaration as a philosophy and the Articles as an instrument of government represented minimal positions reflecting the maximum agreement possible in a coalition whose first task was to win the military struggle. Given the deep differences about the nature of government, the debate had only been postponed until a more opportune time.

During 1780, in the darkest days of the war, with the nation ravaged by inflationary paper money, some of the more extreme nationalists in the Congress and the army sought a central government verging on a military dictatorship. George Washington's unwillingness to accept any such scheme, as well as subsequent American military successes and the signing of a peace treaty, prevented it. Despite the failure of such extremists, more moderate advocates of balanced government wanted to reopen the debate, while even some advocates of the Articles began to realize the need for revision.

There is not space here to detail the many ways in which the military struggle, the new state constitutions, and the subsequent development of state governments changed the nature of American society during and after the war.

The number of Loyalists who fled, most never to return, was a larger percentage of the total population than in almost any of the allegedly more radical modern revolutions. As Forrest McDonald pointed out in a paper some years ago, much of the abandoned Loyalist property was confiscated by the "new" men entering government and the military as avenues for advancement.

Moreover, the turnover of elites in the American polity was far and away greater than in any of the modern revolutions of this century. A study of the Russian Revolution, for example, found that 10 years after the event, the elite turnover was only 50 percent. In the American case, however, only slightly more than 20 percent survived the transition to the new order: the political turnover averaged 77 percent, ranging from 50 percent in some states to 100 percent in others.

In this sense, the American Revolution was perhaps the most radical revolution for which we have any real data. The evidence assembled by James K. Martin in *Men in Rebellion: Higher Government Leaders and the Coming of the American Revolution*, contrasts starkly with claims by neoconservatives about the conservative and consensus nature of the Revolution.

The importance of this rise of new men was touched on by Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations*, published as the "colonial problem" was heating up. In 1778, while reassessing policy, the British government asked many of its intellectuals what ought to be done about the rebellious colonies. In a letter discovered only in the 1930s, Smith replied that he saw little hope for reconciliation, for the "leading men of America, we may believe, wish to continue to be the principal people in their own country." The importance of this phenomenon extended throughout all of the 13 colonies, down to the local as well as the national level, and it constituted the single most important factor in the development of Revolutionary society.

We know, for example, that given the lack of literacy, Paine's *Common Sense* had to be read to groups of American soldiers. Wood's *Creation of the American Republic* describes how some of these illiterates were elected to office in the midst of these social changes and had to have bills read to them before they could vote!

All of this could not but raise questions in the minds of men who believed in the liberal, republican, Whig worldview. The "virtue" that they believed could triumph over "corruption" was based on the con-

cept of the gentlemen and an educated yeomanry, not illiterates seeking to use government to secure a place. (A vivid description of this factional fight is found in James Madison's famous *Federalist* No. 10, which was perhaps more historical than philosophical.)

This is not to deny that there were some major accomplishments under the Articles, especially considering the war and the subsequent economic recession. It is simply a mistake, however, to suggest that the absence of a stronger central government meant less government. The new men in the state legislatures were legislating with a vengeance! The actions in the states raised great concern among advocates of balanced government. Inflationary paper money, restrictions on trade, and lack of protection for contracts were all distinctly unlibertarian products of legislatures during this period.

To this should be added meddling by foreign governments and the seeming inability of other nations to take the American government seriously. The internal discontent evidenced by Shays' Rebellion and other lesser disturbances were indicative of the social dislocation of this era. The alternatives were not, as we perceive from a perspective of 200 years, either the Articles, perhaps with some amendments, or the eventual Constitution. Some still thought monarchy or a dictatorship might be necessary. In 1786, for example, no less than the president of the Congress, Nathaniel Gorham, was involved in negotiations with Baron von Steuben to invite Prince Henry of Prussia, the brother of Frederick the Great, to rule in America.

The alternatives facing Americans were described quite accurately by Pennsylvania's James Wilson at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia: "At this period America has it in her power to adopt either of the following modes of government: She may dissolve the individual sovereignty of the States, and become one consolidated empire; she may be divided into thirteen separate, independent and unconnected commonwealths; she may be erected into two or more confederacies; or, lastly, she may become one comprehensive Federal Republic."

The Constitution and the Bill of Rights, like the Declaration of Independence or Articles of Confederation, consisted of a number of compromises. At least these could be debated and decided upon without the exigencies of war and the need to first develop state constitutions.

Writers as different as Merrill Jensen, an advocate of the Articles with perhaps the need for revision, and Herbert Aptheker, a Marxist who favors the Constitution, agree that the constitutional movement was an effort to protect property in its various forms—land, money, contracts—from the majoritarian state legislatures that were then dominant. In addition, as Aptheker notes, the Constitution guaranteed much greater freedom of religion than the states, many of which kept religious qualifications well into the 19th century.

Some *still thought a monarchy or dictatorship might be necessary. In 1786, the president of Congress negotiated to invite Prince Henry of Prussia to rule America.*

For all its failures, the Constitution remains after 200 years one of the great protectors of property rights in human history. As such, it was not a betrayal of the principles of 1776 as much as an effort to reopen the debate of that period, freed of the pressure of war. It represented a compromise reflecting one version of the idea of a balanced government to protect property rights as essential to the enjoyment of more broadly defined human rights. The Constitution was a balance between monarchy and military despotism on the one hand and extreme majoritarian populism on the other.

From a "what if" perspective, the burden is really on those who argue for the Articles, with perhaps some revision. Adam Smith's observations, along with the present-day researches of such scholars as James Buchanan and Mancur Olsen, suggest that there was simply no incentive for those new men in the states to concede power willingly to a government at a locus higher than their own. Whatever the corruption and abuse of rights at the national level, throughout our history the worse abuses have been, and remain, at the state and local levels.

The Progressive movement at the turn of the century, for example, was in a way a response to the increasing state economic regulation that was preventing the creation of national markets. To do business on a national scale, you had to buy *all* of the state legislatures, and the lower you descended, the less likely the politicians were to stay bought.

And does anyone really believe that the southern states would have moved willingly away from slavery and later segregation by law? In addition, the taking of property, whether from zoning or newer environmental "growth management" legislation, is greater at state and local levels than at the national. The great growth of government in the last several decades has been at these levels, not at the federal.

Since the administration of Richard Nixon, there has been an effort to return power to the states. But like the era of the Articles of Confederation, this has meant more government, not less. We now have 50 states competing in a more or less mercantilist struggle for advancement. In my state of Florida, the ex-governor, now Senator Bob Graham, conducted his own foreign policy with Latin America, and legislative committees junket in Asia with the aim of promoting economic development. A growth-management plan initiated in Oregon several years ago was developed by consultants from Florida.

The threat to human liberty and property rights, especially at the state and local levels, is as great now as it was in the 1780s. The preoccupation of so-called conservatives like Ronald Reagan with asserting the power of the United States in the world, and his circumlocutions of the Congress on a scale to rival previous imperial presidencies, remind us that we still lack something by way of "virtue" or an adequate system of checks and balances. Corruption, in the sense that the Founders used the term—as a whoring after power—is still with us.

Yet it is the Constitution that checks this corruption and keeps the politicians from achieving their nefarious ends. The defense the Constitution provides against their tyranny is sufficient reason to celebrate its Bicentennial. ◻

William Marina, a builder, is director of the Small Business Development Center and coordinator for International Studies at Florida Atlantic University, where he also teaches business history.

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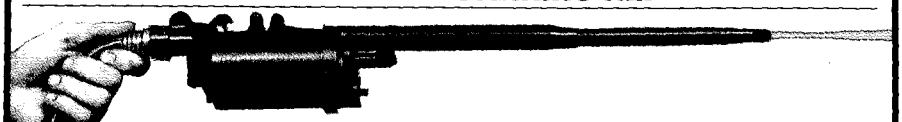

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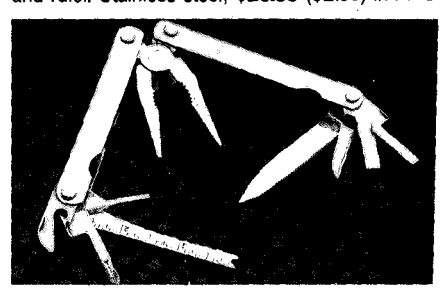

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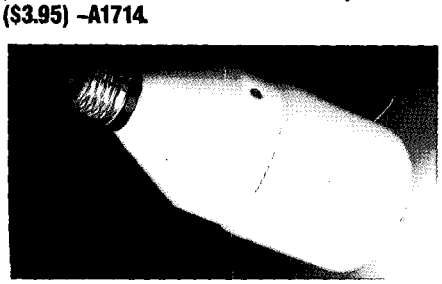

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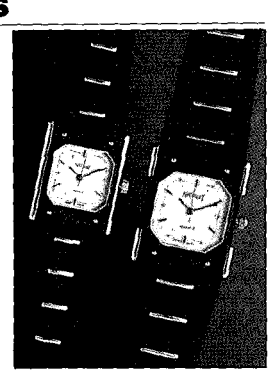

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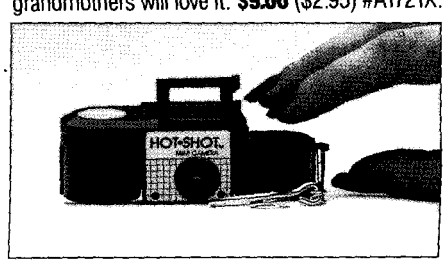

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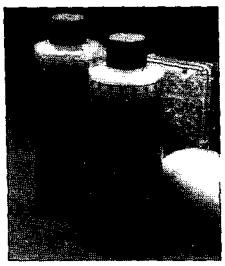

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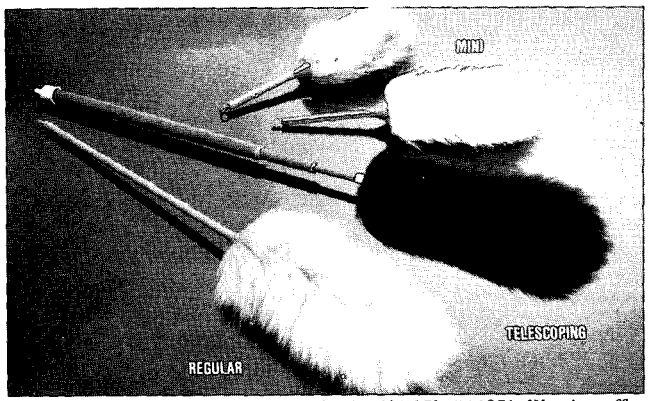

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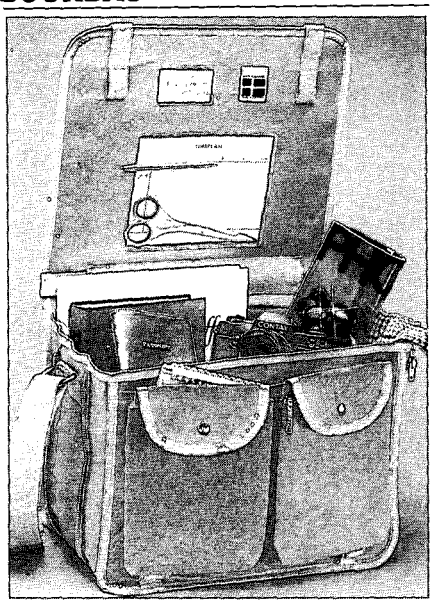

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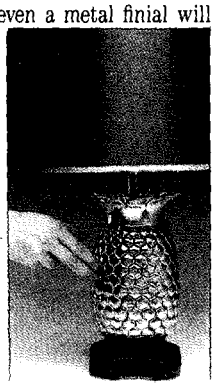

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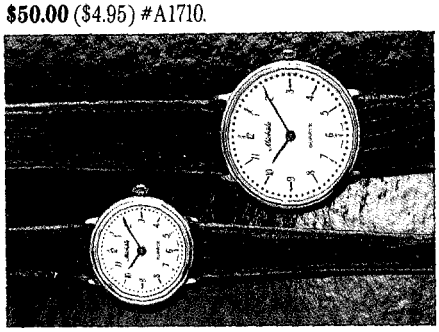

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An excerpt from the new book by a leading political economist

Visions of Man

by Thomas Sowell

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At the core of every moral code there is a picture of human nature, a map of the universe, and a version of history. To human nature (of the sort conceived), in a universe (of a kind imagined), after a history (so understood), the rules of the code apply.

—Walter Lippman

Social visions differ in their basic conceptions of the nature of man. A creature from another planet who sought information about human beings from reading William Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* in 1793 would hardly recognize man, as he appears there, as the same being who was described in *The Federalist Papers* just five years earlier. The contrast would be only slightly less if he compared man as he appeared in Thomas Paine and Edmund Burke, or today in John Kenneth Galbraith and in Friedrich A. Hayek. Even the speculative pre-history of man as a wild creature in nature differs drastically between the free, innocent being conceived by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the brutal participant in the bloody war of each against all conceived by Thomas Hobbes.

The capacities and limitations of man are implicitly seen in radically different terms by those whose explicit philosophical, political, or social theories are built on different visions. Man's moral and mental natures are seen so differently that their respective concepts of knowledge and of institutions necessarily differ as well. Social causation itself is conceived differently, both as to mechanics and results. Time and its ancillary phenomena—traditions, contracts, economic speculation, for example—are also viewed as more real by followers of some visions than by followers of opposing visions. Finally, those who believe in some visions view themselves in a very different moral role from the way followers of other visions view themselves. The ramifications of these conflicting visions extend into economic, judicial, military, philosophical, and political decisions.

Rather than attempt the impossible task of following all these ramifications in each of the myriad of social visions, the discussion here will group these visions into two broad categories—the constrained vision and the unconstrained vision. These will be abstractions of convenience, recognizing that there are degrees in both visions, that a continuum has been dichotomized, that in the real world there are often elements of each inconsistently grafted on to the other, and innumerable combinations and permutations. With all of these caveats, it is now possible to turn to an outline of the two visions, and specifics on the nature of man, the nature of knowledge, and the nature of social processes, as seen in constrained and unconstrained visions.

Adam Smith provided a picture of man which may help make concrete the nature of a constrained vision. Writing as a philosopher in 1759, nearly twenty years before he became famous as an economist, Smith said in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*:

"Let us suppose that the great empire of China, with all its myriads of inhabitants, was suddenly swallowed up by an earthquake, and let us consider how a man of humanity in Europe, who had no sort of connection with that part of the world, would react upon receiving intelligence of this dreadful calamity. He would, I imagine, first of all express very strongly his sorrow for the misfortune of that unhappy people, he would make many melancholy reflections upon the precariousness of human life, and the vanity of all the labours of man, which could thus be annihilated in a moment. He would, too, perhaps, if he was a man of speculation, enter into many reasonings concerning the effects which this disaster might produce upon the commerce of Europe, and the trade and business of the world in general. And when all this fine philosophy was over, when all these humane sentiments had been once fairly expressed, he would pursue his business or his pleasure, take his repose or his diversion, with the same ease and tranquility as if no such accident had happened. The most frivolous disaster which could befall himself would occasion a more real disturbance. If he was to lose his little finger tomorrow, he would not sleep to-night; but, provided he never saw them, he would snore with the most profound security over the ruin of a hundred million of his brethren...."

The moral limitations of man in general, and his egocentricity in particular, were neither lamented by Smith nor regarded as things to be changed. They were treated as inherent facts of life, the basic constraint in his vision. The fundamental moral and social challenge was to make the best of the possibilities which existed within that constraint, rather than dissipate energies in an attempt to change human nature—an attempt that Smith treated as both vain and pointless. For example, if it were somehow possible to make the European feel poignantly the full pain of those who suffered in China, this state of mind would be "perfectly useless," according to Smith, except to make him "miserable," without being of any benefit to the Chinese. Smith said: "Nature, it seems, when she loaded us with our own sorrows, thought that they were enough and therefore did not command us to take any further share in those of others, than what was necessary to prompt us to relieve them."

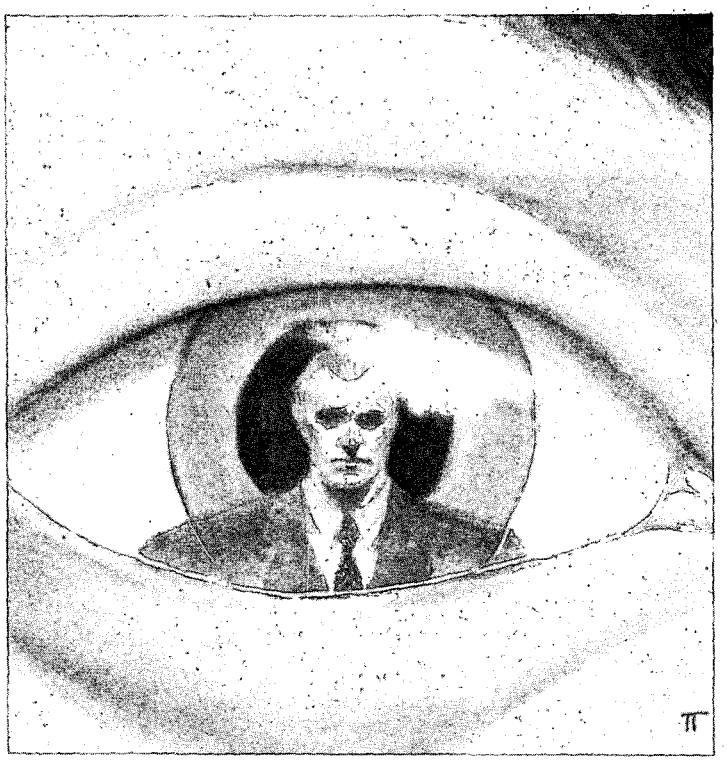
Instead of regarding man's nature as something that could or should be changed, Smith attempted to determine how the moral and social benefits desired could be produced in the most efficient way, *within* that constraint. Smith approached the production and distribution of moral behavior in much the same way he would later approach the production and distribution of material goods. Although he was a pro-

fessor of moral philosophy, his thought processes were already those of an economist. However, the constrained vision is by no means limited to economists. Smith's contemporary in politics, Edmund Burke, perhaps best summarized the constrained vision from a political perspective when he spoke of "a radical infirmity in all human contrivances," an infirmity inherent in the fundamental nature of things. Similar views were expressed by Alexander Hamilton, principal author of *The Federalist Papers*: "It is the lot of all human institutions, even those of the most perfect kind, to have defects as well as excellencies—ill as well as good propensities. This results from the imperfection of the Institutor, Man."

Clearly, a society cannot function humanely, if at all, when each person acts as if his little finger is more important than the lives of a hundred million other human beings. But the crucial word here is *act*. We cannot "prefer ourselves so shamelessly and blindly to others" when we act, Smith said, even if that is the spontaneous or natural inclination of our feelings. In practice, people on many occasions "sacrifice their own interests to the greater interests of others," according to Smith, but this was due to such intervening factors as devotion to moral principles, to concepts of honor and nobility, rather than to loving one's neighbor as oneself. Through such artificial devices, man could be persuaded to do for his own self-image or inner needs what he would not do for the good of his fellow man. In short, such concepts were seen by Smith as the most efficient way to get the moral job done at the lowest psychic cost. Despite the fact that this was a moral question, Smith's answer was essentially economic—a system of moral incentives, a set of *trade-offs* rather than a real *solution* by changing man. One of the hallmarks of the constrained vision is that it deals in trade-offs rather than solutions.

In his classic work, *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith went further. Economic benefits to society were largely unintended by individuals, but emerged systemically from the interactions of the marketplace, under the pressures of competition and the incentives of individual gain. Moral sentiments were necessary only for shaping the general framework of laws within which this systemic process could go on.

This was yet another way in which man, with all the limitations conceived by Smith, could be induced to produce benefits for others, for reasons ultimately reducible to self-interest. It was not an atomistic theory that individual self-interests added up to the interest of society. On the contrary, the functioning of the economy and society required each individual to do things for other people; it was simply the *motivation* behind these acts—whether moral or economic—which was ultimately self-centered. In both his moral and his economic analyses, Smith relied on incentives rather than dispositions to get the job done.



Perhaps no other eighteenth-century book presents such a contrast to the vision of man in Adam Smith as William Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, a work as remarkable for its fate as its contents. An immediate success upon its publication in England in 1793, within a decade it encountered the chilling effect of British hostile reactions to ideas popularly associated with the French Revolution, especially after France became an enemy in war. By the time two decades of warfare between the two countries were ended at Waterloo, Godwin and his work had been relegated to the periphery of intellectual life, and he was subsequently best known for his influence on Shelley. Yet no work of the eighteenth-century "age of reason" so clearly, so consistently, and so systematically elaborated the unconstrained vision of man as did Godwin's treatise.

Where in Adam Smith moral or socially beneficial behavior could be evoked from man only by incentives, in William Godwin man's understanding and disposition were capable of intentionally creating social benefits. Godwin regarded the *intention* to benefit others as being "of the essence of virtue," and virtue in turn as being the road to human happiness. Unintentional social benefits were treated by Godwin as scarcely worthy of notice. His was the unconstrained vision of human nature, in which man was capable of directly feeling other people's needs as more important than his own, and therefore of consistently acting impartially, even when his own interests or those of his family were involved. This was not meant as an empirical generalization about the way most people currently behaved. It was meant as a statement of the underlying nature of human potential. Conceding current egocentric behavior did not imply that it was a permanent feature of human nature, as human nature was conceived in the unconstrained vision. Godwin said: "Men are capable, no doubt, of preferring an inferior interest of their own to a superior interest of others; but this preference arises from a combination of circumstances and is not the necessary and invariable law of our nature."

Socially contrived incentives were disdained by Godwin as unworthy and unnecessary expedients, when it was possible to achieve directly what Smith's incentives were designed to achieve indirectly: "If a thousand men are to be benefited, I ought to recollect that I am only an atom in comparison, and to reason accordingly." Unlike Smith, who regarded human selfishness as a given, Godwin regarded it as being promoted by the very system of rewards used to cope with it. The real solution toward which efforts should be bent was to have people do what is right because it is right, not because of psychic or economic payments—that is, not because someone "has annexed to it a great weight of self interest."

ILLUSTRATIONS-TIM TEEBKEN

Having an unconstrained vision of the yet untapped moral potential of human beings, Godwin was not preoccupied like Smith with what is the most immediately effective incentive under the current state of things. The real goal was the long-run development of a higher sense of social duty. To the extent that immediately effective incentives retarded that long-run development, their benefits were illusory, The "hope of reward" and "fear of punishment" were, in Godwin's vision, "wrong in themselves" and "inimical to the improvement of the mind." In this, Godwin was seconded by another contemporary exemplar of the unconstrained vision, the Marquis de Condorcet, who rejected the whole idea of "turning prejudices and vices to good account rather than trying to dispel or repress them." Such "mistakes" Condorcet traced to his adversaries' vision of human nature—their confusing "the natural man" and his potential with existing man, "corrupted by prejudices, artificial passions and social customs."

Prudence—the careful weighing of trade-offs—is seen in very different terms within the constrained and the unconstrained visions. In the constrained vision, where trade-offs are all that we can hope for, prudence is among the highest duties. Edmund Burke called it "the first of all virtues." "Nothing is good," Burke said, "but in proportion, and with reference"—in short, as a trade-off. By contrast, in the unconstrained vision, where moral improvement has no fixed limit, prudence is of a lower order of importance. Godwin had little use for "those moralists"—quite conceivably meaning Smith—"who think only of stimulating men to good deeds by considerations of frigid prudence and mercenary self-interests," instead of seeking to stimulate the "generous and magnanimous sentiment of our natures."

Implicit in the unconstrained vision is the notion that the potential is very different from the actual, and that means exist to improve human nature toward its potential, or that such means can be evolved or discovered, so that man will do the right thing for the right reason, rather than for ulterior psychic or economic rewards. Condorcet expressed a similar vision when he declared that man can eventually "fulfill by a natural inclination the same duties which today cost him effort and sacrifice." Thus a solution can supersede mere trade-offs.

Man is, in short, "perfectible"—meaning continually improvable rather than capable of actually reaching absolute perfection. "We can come nearer and nearer," according to Godwin, though one "cannot prescribe limits" to this process. It is sufficient for his purpose that men are "eminently capable of justice and virtue"—not only isolated individuals, but "the whole species." Efforts must be made to "wake the sleeping virtues of mankind." Rewarding existing behavior patterns was seen as antithetical to this goal.

When Rousseau said that man "is born free" but "is everywhere in chains," he expressed the unconstrained vision, in which the problem is not man or nature but institutions.

Here, too, Condorcet reached similar conclusions. The "perfectibility of man," he said, was "truly indefinite."[3] "The progress of the human mind" was a recurring theme in Condorcet. He acknowledged that there were "limits of man's intelligence;" that no one believed it possible for man to know "all the facts of nature" or to "attain the ultimate means of precision" in their measurement or analysis. But while there was ultimately a limit to man's mental capability, according to Condorcet, no one could specify what it was. He was indignant that Locke "dared to set a limit to human understanding." As a devotee of mathematics, Condorcet conceived perfectibility as a never-ending asymptotic approach to a mathematical limit.

While the use of the word "perfectibility" has faded away over the centuries, the concept has survived, largely intact, to the present time. The notion that "the human being is highly plastic material" is still central among many contemporary thinkers who share the unconstrained vision. The concept of "solution" remains central to this vision. A solution is achieved when it is no longer necessary to make a trade-off, even if the development of that solution entailed costs now past. The goal of achieving a solution is in fact what justifies the initial sacrifices or transitional conditions which might otherwise be considered unacceptable. Condorcet, for example, anticipated the eventual "reconciliation, the identification, of the interests of each with the interests of all"—at which point, "the path of virtue is no longer arduous." Man could act under the influence of a socially beneficial disposition, rather than simply in response to ulterior incentives.

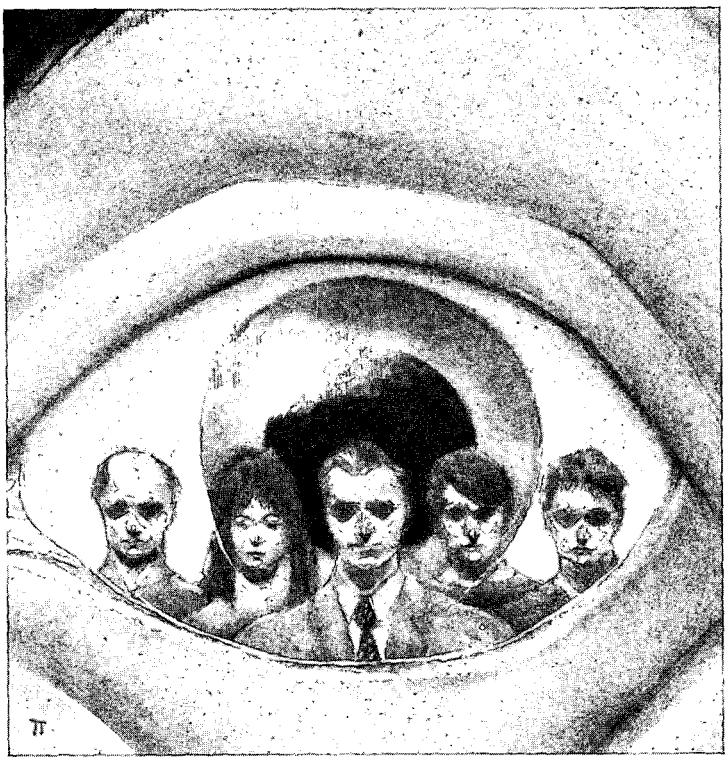
Human actions were dichotomized by Godwin into the beneficial and the harmful, and each of these in turn was dichotomized into the intentional and the unintentional. The intentional creation of benefits was called "virtue," and the intentional creation of harm was "negligence," a subspecies of vice. These definitions can be represented schematically:

	BENEFICIAL	HARMFUL
INTENTIONAL	*Virtue*	*Vice*
UNINTENTIONAL		*Negligence*

The missing category was unintentional benefit. It was precisely this missing category in Godwin that was central to Adam Smith's whole vision, particularly as it unfolded in his classic work *The Wealth of Nations*. The economic benefits to society produced by the capitalist were, according to Smith, "no part of his intention." The capitalist's intentions were characterized by Smith as "mean rapacity" and capitalists as a group were referred to as people who "seldom meet together, even for merri-

ment or diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public, or in some contrivance to raise prices."

Yet, despite his repeatedly negative depictions of capitalists, unrivaled among economists until Karl Marx, Adam Smith nevertheless became the patron saint of *laissez-faire* capitalism. Intentions, which were crucial in the unconstrained vision of Godwin, were irrelevant in the constrained vision of Smith. What mattered to Smith were the systemic characteristics of a competitive economy, which produced social benefits from unsavory individual intentions.



While Adam Smith and William Godwin have been cited as especially clear and straightforward writers espousing opposing visions, each is part of a vast tradition that continues powerful and contending for domination today. Even among their contemporaries, Smith and Godwin each had many intellectual compatriots with similar visions, differently expressed and differing in details and degree. Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* in 1790 was perhaps the most ringing polemical application of the constrained vision. Thomas Paine's equally polemical reply, *The Rights of Man* (1791), anticipated in many ways the more systematic unfolding of the unconstrained vision by Godwin two years later. Rousseau was perhaps the most famous of those who argued on the basis of a human nature not inherently constrained to its existing limitations, but narrowed and corrupted by social institutions —a vision also found in Condorcet and in Baron D'Holbach, among others of that era. In the nineteenth century, John Stuart Mill said that the "present wretched education" and "wretched social arrangements" were "the only real hindrance" to attaining general happiness among human beings. Mill's most ringing rhetoric reflected the unconstrained vision, though his eclecticism in many areas caused him to include devastating provisos more consonant with the constrained vision.

Much of nineteenth-century socialism and twentieth-century liberalism builds upon these foundations, modified and varying in degree, and applied to areas as disparate as education, war, and criminal justice. Marxism, as we shall see, was a special hybrid, applying a constrained vision to much of the past and an unconstrained vision to much of the future.

When Harod Laski said that "dissatisfaction" was an "expression of serious ill in the body politic," he was expressing the essence of the unconstrained vision, in which neither man nor nature have such inherent constraints as to disappoint our hopes, so that existing institutions, traditions, or rulers must be responsible for dissatisfaction. Conversely, when Malthus attributed human misery to "laws inherent in the nature of man, and absolutely independent of all human regulations," he was expressing one of the most extreme forms of the constrained vision, encompassing inherent constraints in both nature and man. Godwin's reply to Malthus, not surprisingly, applied the *unconstrained* vision to both nature and man: "Men are born into the world, in every country where the cultivation of the earth is practised, with the natural faculty in each man of producing more food than he can consume, a faculty which cannot be controlled but by the injurious exclusions of human institution." Given the unconstrained possibilities of man and nature, poverty or other sources of dissatisfaction could only be a result of evil intentions or blindness to solutions readily achievable by changing existing institutions. By contrast, Burke considered complaints about our times and rulers to be part of "the general infirmities of human nature," and that "true political sagacity" was required to separate these from real indicators of a special malaise. Hobbes went even further, arguing that it was precisely when men are "at ease" that they are most troublesome politically.

The constraints of nature are themselves important largely through the constraints of human nature. The inherent natural constraint of the need for food, for example, becomes a practical social problem only insofar as human beings multiply to the point where subsistence becomes difficult. Thus this central constraint of nature in Malthus becomes socially important only because of Malthus' highly constrained vision of *human* nature, which he saw as inevitably behaving in such a way as to populate the earth to that point. But Godwin, who readily conceded the natural constraint, had a very different vision of human nature, which would not heedlessly overpopulate. Therefore, the possibility of a geometrical increase in people was of no concern to Godwin because "possible men do not eat, though real men do." Malthus, on the other hand, saw overpopulation not as an abstract possibility in the future but as a concrete reality already manifested. According to Malthus, "the period when the number of men surpass their means of subsistence has long since arrived...has existed ever since we have had any histories of mankind, does exist at present, and will for ever continue to exist." It would be hard to conceive of a more absolute statement of a constrained vision. Where Malthus and Godwin differed was not over a natural fact—the need for food—but over behavioral theories based on very different visions of human nature. Most followers of the unconstrained vision likewise acknowledge death, for example, as an inherent constraint of nature (though Godwin and Condorcet did not rule out an eventual conquest of death), but simply do not treat this as a constraint on the social development of mankind.

The great evils of the world—war, poverty, and crime, for example—are seen in completely different terms by those with the constrained and the unconstrained visions. If human options are not inherently constrained, then the presence of such

repugnant and disastrous phenomena virtually cries out for explanation—and for solutions. But if the limitations and passions of man himself are at the heart of these painful phenomena, then what requires explanation are the ways in which they have been avoided or minimized. While believers in the unconstrained vision seek the special causes of war, poverty, and crime, believers in the constrained vision seek the special causes of peace, wealth, or a law-abiding society. In the unconstrained vision, there are no intractable reasons for social evils and therefore no reason why they cannot be solved, with sufficient moral commitment. But in the constrained vision, whatever artifices or strategies restrain or ameliorate inherent human evils will themselves have costs, some in the form of other social ills created by these civilizing institutions, so that all that is possible is a prudent trade-off.

The two great revolutions of the eighteenth century—in France and in America—can be viewed as applications of these differing visions, though with all the reservations necessary whenever the flesh and blood of complex historical events are compared to skeletal theoretical models. The underlying premises of the French Revolution more clearly reflected the unconstrained vision of man which prevailed among its leaders. The intellectual foundations of the American Revolution were more mixed, including men like Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson, whose thinking was similar in many ways to that in France, but also including as a dominant influence on the Constitution, the classic constrained vision of man expressed in the *The Federalist Papers*. Where Robespierre looked forward to the end of revolutionary bloodshed, "when all people will have become equally devoted to their country and its laws," Alexander Hamilton in *The Federalist Papers* regarded the idea of individual actions "unbiased by considerations not connected with the public good" as a prospect "more ardently to be wished than seriously to be expected." Robespierre sought a solution, Hamilton a trade-off.

The Constitution of the United States, with its elaborate checks and balances, clearly reflected the view that no one was ever to be completely trusted with power. This was in sharp contrast to the French Revolution, which gave sweeping powers, including the power of life and death, to those who spoke in the name of "the people," expressing the Rousseauean "general will." Even when bitterly disappointed with particular leaders, who were then deposed and executed, believers in this vision did not substantially change their political systems or beliefs, viewing the evil as localized in individuals who had betrayed the revolution.

The writers of *The Federalist Papers* were quite conscious of the vision of man that underlay the Constitution of checks and balances which they espoused:

"It may be a reflection on human nature that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government. But what is government itself but the greatest of all reflections on human nature?"

While believers in the unconstrained vision seek the special causes of war, poverty, and crime, believers in the constrained vision seek the special causes of peace, wealth, or a law-abiding society.

To the Federalists, the evil was inherent in man, and institutions were simply ways of trying to cope with it. Adam Smith likewise saw government as "an imperfect remedy" for the deficiency of "wisdom and virtue" in man. *The Federalist Papers* said: "Why has government been instituted at all? Because the passions of men will not conform to the dictates of reason and justice without constraint."

To those without this constrained vision of man, the whole elaborate system of constitutional checks and balances was a needless complication and impediment. Condorcet condemned such "counterweights" for creating an "overcomplicated" political machine "to weigh upon the people." He saw no need for society to be "jostled between opposing powers" or held back by the "inertia" of constitutional checks and balances.

The constrained vision is a tragic vision of the human condition. The unconstrained vision is a moral vision of human intentions, which are viewed as ultimately decisive. The unconstrained vision promotes pursuit of the highest ideals and the best solutions. By contrast, the constrained vision sees the best as the enemy of the good—a vain attempt to reach the unattainable being seen as not only futile but often counterproductive, while the same efforts could have produced a viable and beneficial trade-off. Adam Smith applied this reasoning not only to economics but also to morality and politics: The prudent reformer, according to Smith, will respect "the confirmed habits and prejudices of the people," and when he cannot establish what is right, "he will not disdain to ameliorate the wrong." His goal is not to create the ideal but to "establish the best that the people can bear."

But Condorcet, expressing the unconstrained vision, rejected any notion that laws should "change with the temperature and adapt to the forms of government, to the practices that superstition has consecrated, and even to the stupidities adopted by each people...." Thus he found the French Revolution superior to the American Revolution, for "the principles from which the constitution and laws of France were derived were purer" and allowed "the people to exercise their sovereign right" without constraint. Related to this is the question whether the institutions of one society can be transferred to another, or particular blueprints for better societies be applied to very different countries. Jeremy Bentham was noted for producing both specific reforms and general principles intended to apply in very different societies. Yet to Hamilton, "what may be good at Philadelphia may be bad at Paris and ridiculous at Petersburgh." Each of these conclusions is consistent with the respective vision from which it came.

While the constrained vision sees human nature as essentially unchanged across the ages and around the world, the particular cultural expressions of human needs peculiar to specific societies are not seen as being readily and beneficially changeable by forcible intervention. By contrast, those with the unconstrained vision tend to view human nature as beneficially changeable and social customs as expendable holdovers from the past.

Ideals are weighed against the cost of achieving them, in the constrained vision. But in the unconstrained vision, every

closer approximation to the ideal should be preferred. Costs are regrettable, but by no means decisive. Thomas Jefferson's reply to those who turned against the French Revolution, because of the innocent people it had killed, exemplified this point: "My own affections have been deeply wounded by some of the martyrs to this cause, but rather than it should have failed, I would have seen half the earth desolated."

Belief in the irrelevance of process costs in the pursuit of social justice could hardly have been expressed more clearly or categorically. Yet, in the end, Jefferson too turned against the French Revolution, as its human cost increased beyond what he could continue to accept. Jefferson was not completely or irrevocably committed to the unconstrained vision.

The relative importance of process costs has continued, over the centuries, to distinguish the constrained and the unconstrained visions. Modern defenders of legal technicalities which allow criminals to escape punishment who declare, "That is the price we pay for freedom," or defenders of revolutions who say, "You can't make omelettes without breaking eggs," are contemporary exemplars of an unconstrained vision which has historically treated process costs as secondary. At the other end of the philosophical spectrum are those who in essence repeat Adam Smith's view of process costs: "The peace and order of society is of more importance than even the relief of the miserable." The continuing battle between ideals and the costs of achieving them is only one part of the ongoing conflict of visions.

Visions rest ultimately on some sense of the nature of man—not simply his existing practices but his ultimate potential and ultimate limitations. Those who see the potentialities of human nature as extending far beyond what is currently manifested have a social vision quite different from those who see human beings as tragically limited creatures whose selfish and dangerous impulses can be contained only by social contrivances which themselves produce unhappy side effects. William Godwin and Adam Smith are two of the clearest and most consistent exemplars of these respective social visions—the unconstrained and the constrained. Yet they were neither the first nor the last in these two long traditions of social thought. When Rousseau said that man "is born free" but "is everywhere in chains," he expressed the essence of the unconstrained vision, in which the fundamental problem is not nature or man but institutions. According to Rousseau, "men are not naturally enemies." The diametrically opposite vision was presented in Hobbes' *Leviathan*, where the armed power of political institutions was all that prevented the war of each against all that would otherwise exist among men in their natural state, where life would be "solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short." While the unconstrained vision of Condorcet led him to seek a society in which man's "natural inclination" would coincide with the social good, Hayek's constrained vision led to the conclusion that the "indispensable rules of the free society require from us much that is unpleasant"—that is, man's nature inherently could not coincide with the social good but must be deliberately subordinated to it, despite the unpleasantness this entailed.

The moral limitations of man in general, and his egocentricity in particular, were neither lamented by Smith nor regarded as things to be changed.

Given the wider capabilities of man in the unconstrained vision, the intentions which guide those capabilities are especially important. Words and concepts which revolve around intention—"sincerity," "commitment," "dedication"—have been central to the unconstrained vision for centuries, and the policies sought by this vision have often been described in terms of their intended goals: "liberty, equality, fraternity," "ending the exploitation of man by man," or "social justice," for example. But in the constrained vision, where man's ability to directly consummate his intentions is very limited, intentions mean far less. Burke referred to "the Beneficial effects of human faults" and to "the ill consequences attending the most undoubted Virtues." Adam Smith's entire economic doctrine of *laissez-faire* implicitly assumed the same lack of correspondence between intention and effect, for the systemic benefits of capitalism were no part of the intention of capitalists. In the constrained vision, social processes are described not in terms of intentions or ultimate goals, but in terms of the systemic characteristics deemed necessary to contribute to those goals—"property rights," "free enterprise," or "strict construction" of the Constitution, for example. It is not merely that there are different goals in the two visions but, more fundamentally, that the goals relate to different things. The unconstrained vision speaks directly in terms of desired results, the constrained vision in terms of process characteristics considered conducive to desired results, but not directly or without many unhappy side effects, which are accepted as part of a trade-off.

With all the complex differences among social thinkers as of a given time, and still more so over time, it is nevertheless possible to recognize certain key assumptions about human nature and about social causation which permit some to be grouped together as belonging to the constrained vision and others as belonging to the unconstrained vision. Although these groupings do not encompass all social theorists, they cover many important figures and enduring ideological conflicts of the past two centuries.

Running through the tradition of the unconstrained vision is the conviction that foolish or immoral choices explain the evils of the world—and that wiser or more moral and humane social policies are the solution. William Godwin's elaboration of this unconstrained vision in his *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* drew upon and systematized such ideas found among numerous eighteenth-century thinkers—Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Voltaire, Condorcet, Thomas Paine, and D'Holbach being notable examples. This general approach was carried forth in the nineteenth century, in their very different ways, by Saint-Simon, Robert Owen, and by George Bernard Shaw and other Fabians. Its twentieth-century echoes are found in political theorists such as Harold Laski, in economists like Thorstein Veblen and John Kenneth

Galbraith, and in the law with a whole school of advocates of judicial activism, epitomized by Ronald Dworkin in theory and Earl Warren in practice.

By contrast, the constrained vision sees the evils of the world as deriving from the limited and unhappy choice available, given the inherent moral and intellectual limitations of human beings. For amelioration of these evils and the promotion of progress, they rely on the systemic characteristics of certain social processes such as moral traditions, the marketplace, or families. They conceive of these processes as evolved rather than designed—and rely on these general patterns of social interaction rather than on specific policy designed to directly produce particular results for particular individuals and groups. This constrained view of human capacities found in Adam Smith is also found in a long series of other social thinkers ranging from Thomas Hobbes in the seventeenth century, through Edmund Burke and the authors of *The Federalist Papers* among Smith's contemporaries, through such twentieth-century figures as Oliver Wendell Holmes in law, Milton Friedman in economics, and Friedrich A. Hayek in general social theory.

Not all social thinkers fit this schematic dichotomy. John Stuart Mill and Karl Marx, for example, do not fit, for very different reasons. Others take midway positions between the two visions, or convert from one to the other. However, the conflict of visions is no less real because everyone has not chosen sides or irrevocably committed themselves.

Despite necessary caveats, it remains an important and remarkable phenomenon that how human nature is conceived at the outset is highly correlated with the whole conception of knowledge, morality, power, time, rationality, war, freedom, and law which defines a social vision.

Because various beliefs, theories, and systems of social thought are spread across a continuum (perhaps even a multi-dimensional continuum), it might in one sense be more appropriate to refer to *less* constrained visions and *more* constrained visions instead of the dichotomy used here. However, the dichotomy is not only more convenient but also captures an important distinction. Virtually no one believes that man is 100 percent unconstrained and virtually no one believes that man is 100 percent constrained. What puts a given thinker in the tradition of one vision rather than the other is not simply whether he refers more to man's constraints or to his untapped potential but whether, or to what extent, constraints are built into the very structure and operation of a particular theory. Those whose theories incorporate these constraints as a central feature have a constrained vision; those whose theories do not make these constraints an integral or central part of the analysis have an unconstrained vision. Every vision, by definition, leaves something out—indeed, leaves *most* things out. The dichotomy between constrained and unconstrained visions is based on whether or not inherent limitations of man are among the key elements included in each vision.

The dichotomy is justified in yet another sense. These different ways of conceiving man and the world lead not merely to *different* conclusions but to sharply divergent, often diametrically opposed, conclusions of issues ranging from justice to war. There are not merely differences of visions but conflicts of visions. ◧

Thomas Sowell is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and author of Knowledge and Decisions, Ethnic America, *and other books.*

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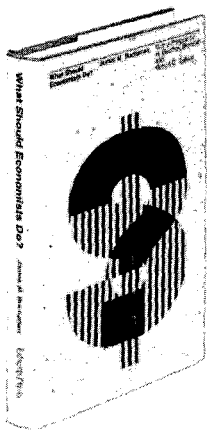

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By James M. Buchanan
Preface by H. Geoffrey Brennan and Robert D. Tollison

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Dr. Buchanan is General Director of the Center for the Study of Public Choice and Harris University Professor at George Mason University. Among his other books are *The Limits of Liberty*, and, with Gordon Tullock, *The Calculus of Consent*.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

taxes

By Warren Salomon

Hold Your Nose and Get It Over With

April 15th is coming, and what are you doing about it? I know what you *want* to do—buy an Uzi, drape a bunch of ammo belts over your chest, and go charging into the IRS office like Rambo, spraying exploding bullets all over the place.

We all enjoy variations on that daydream. But as the evil date approaches, most of us put our dreams aside, sigh wistfully, and turn into gutless wimps. I'm as disgusted with the whole business as you, but let's not get into that. Instead, let's pull out those hideous-looking tax forms, throw up a time or two from pure, justifiable revulsion, and get down to work.

This will be your last tax return filed under the old tax code, so make it a good one. "What?" you say. "A good tax return? There's no such thing!"

Or is there? In a way, there is. Tax returns are bad experiences, like diseases. You can catch the flu and then recover; you can catch herpes and live with it forever, or you can catch AIDS—and die. There are no good diseases, but if someone pointed a gun at your head and forced you to pick one of the above, you'd pick the flu.

Well, the IRS *is* pointing a gun at you, so what'll it be? Nasal congestion, or the big sleep? The choice is simple. A good tax return is one that's over and done with, once and for all, like a bad case of the flu. It doesn't come back to haunt you, like herpes, and it shouldn't become your total ruination, like you-know-what.

Remember, an audit costs you plenty in anguish and professional fees, in addition to the risk that they'll find what you're hoping they'll never look at. So it's just plain dumb to do something flamboyant and bring the roof down on your head.

A good tax return is one that's never audited. No matter what you did during the year, no matter how many crazy chances you take on your return, if you're never audited for that year, it's over. And in a perverted sense, it's a victory.

But remember, the statute of limitations on tax fraud never expires, so even if you follow my advice and try to audit-proof your returns, don't get carried away with the euphoria of imaginary immunity.

CHARLES PEALE

As long as this wicked system is with us, no one is safe. But some people can make themselves safer than others.

How? Well, there's no sure way to be audit-proof, because even if your return looks perfectly innocent, there's a (very small) chance that it may be selected at random and audited. But aside from that, here are some ideas you may find useful:

This is the last year for deducting lots of items—consumer interest, maybe IRA contributions, etc. You've heard all of that. In fact, this may be the last year that you itemize your deductions. Don't blow it by going so overboard that you call unnecessary attention to yourself.

Avoid tax shelters if you can. They're going out of fashion anyway. If you're already into shelters up to your wazoo, you can skip this paragraph, but if you're not, and you're thinking about it for your 1986 return, think again. Returns claiming tax-shelter losses are almost guaranteed audit candidates. Even if the shelter works, everything else will get looked at. And you alone know what that could mean.

Try not to have a foreign bank account. Someone with a job in the Midwest who says "Sure, I've got an account in the Caymans," is within his constitutional rights, but he's really begging for an audit.

Declare everything that gets reported to the feds by other people—wages, dividends, interest, brokerage-firm transactions, etc. The feds are getting pretty good at matching up those W-2s and 1099s, so it's dumb to omit such items.

Use the right tax table. That's one of the first things they look for, and if they hit pay-dirt, they'll probably dig deeper.

Check your math. More than once. If they do some routine spot-checking and find an arithmetic error, your return may be flagged for closer scrutiny. But if they look it over, sniff it, notice nothing glaringly amiss, and if the math is right, they may move on to more promising material, and then you're in the clear.

File exactly on time, with no extensions and no amendments—if you can possibly do it. This may be just my personal brand of voodoo, but I always file on April 15th. Even if I've got my return done a month or two ahead of time, I hold it until the last minute. I like to think of the thing arriving at the "Service Center" with tons of others and getting stacked up on the desk of some harried clerk, who just might be so exhausted by the time she gets to me she'll glance at it and say, "What the hell, this one looks okay," then chuck it into the "passed" pile and go on to someone else.

Is that a fantasy? Probably. They space out their work during the year, and filing on April 15th isn't going to reduce the audit odds...but it might, just a teeny weeny bit. So that's what I do.

Speaking of fantasy, who hasn't dreamed of scrawling some message on the check he sends to the IRS? You know what I mean. Wouldn't you just love to grab a red felt-tip and write across the top of the check, "Drink goat phlegm, you commie sleaze-ball!" Yeah. It's tempting.

But don't do it. Some people actually do that sort of thing, and it's certainly understandable (the writing), but it's an invitation to an audit. Don't deface your check, don't deface your return, and don't send them any funny pictures or antitax literature. Just play it straight, and maybe you'll slip through their slimy clutches for another year.

And finally, if you really want to be audit-proof, when you write a column like this, use a pen name. I didn't think ahead, and one of these days, I'll probably regret it.

Warren Salomon is an attorney and tax specialist practicing in Miami.

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—Judge Hand in Helvering v. Gregory 69 F 2d.810 (1934)

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spotlight

By John Dentinger

Farmer in the Deal

When developers' bulldozers approach farmland, a common reflex of open-space lovers is to call for new laws: subsidies, bans on land sales. It seldom occurs to them that the farmland may still be profitable—if managed properly.

Enter Austin Dunham (Dunny) Barney II. Barney is not only showing existing and would-be New England farmers how they can harvest the long green but is making a profit himself in the process. He got into the business after he and a partner, in 1983, purchased the bankrupt, abandoned Folly Farm, near Simsbury, Connecticut. After they turned it into a thriving concern, people kept asking how they'd done it. "We'd love to own a farm," they'd say, "but we don't know how to run one." Barney created Farmvest Inc. to tell them.

The typical Farmvest client is a doctor, lawyer, or entrepreneur with a hankering for wide-open spaces and enough money to buy not only a farm but also Farmvest's expertise. Barney's firm finds the land (and real-estate commissions on properties costing a million dollars–plus aren't chicken feed), figures out what crops to raise, and hires help to manage the farm. Thus Barney achieves both profit and conservation by tapping a new market of part-time farmers.

Barney himself, a friendly 41-year-old, didn't grow up on a farm but did learn a healthy respect for Mother Nature while hunting and fishing on tracts of land his family owned. His father, a Connecticut fish and game commissioner, was also a founder of Ducks Unlimited, a national duck and goose habitat preservation organization.

Barney studied international politics at Yale, but his political interests soon became domesticated. After earning a master's degree in public administration at Syracuse University, he went to work as a planner for the Hartford city government. Later, his combined urban and rural perspectives landed him the job of director of Connecticut land-use planning.

There he became good friends with his boss, Dan W. Lufkin, who was also a successful businessman. Lufkin persuaded Barney that market or quasi-market incentives are better than outright restrictions on property use.

Austin Dunham (Dunny) Barney: *"We are kind of marriage brokers, putting together the farm community and the nonfarm community."*

Even during his government days, Barney was active in numerous volunteer organizations, such as the Hartford Architecture Conservancy. Supported by members and grants, the group buys, restores, and resells properties. When old hotels or dwellings are converted to offices, the group buys or is given easements on the facades—contracts preserving the historic exterior architecture.

Barney started farming much the way his clients do, as a sideline to a full-time job. In 1984, while working as director of Cigna Corp.'s charitable and social action program, he and a partner resuscitated the decaying 235-acre Folly Farm the free-market way: they bought it and made it a going concern, exploiting its natural advantages while keeping it largely agricultural.

To generate some cash flow, they built a large 55-horse riding stable and leased it to a riding instructor for an equestrian school. They've hosted 18 horse shows since then—each of which has shown a profit for the farm. They harvested 140,000 board feet of oak. To cut their debt, they sold 65 acres of untillable, forested hillside to developers, who are now carving out 22 home sites. "In trying to preserve farms with private capital, the onus is on creative land use," which may include some residential development, Barney notes.

Aggressive marketing helps, too. The operation is the largest sheep farm in the state and is building a market for its mutton among restaurants and exploring outlets for woolen blankets.

Barney's sheep-raising expertise comes from over a decade of operating a nearby smaller farm with his wife, Susan. They and their two young children live in a rebuilt barn. "We started with a couple of goats and sheep and ducks and geese and steers. We were given two piglets as a wedding present." It was picturesque but too complicated. So the Barneys decided to focus on one kind of animal. "We taught ourselves, with the help of vets and seminars, how to do everything but surgery on our sheep."

Farmvest often advises the same simplification—some farms should cut back to one kind of crop or livestock until they get the knack. Creativity is important, too. When foreign competition cuts Maine potato farmers' sales, Barney suggests, growers might do well to switch to other crops, such as broccoli.

He encourages investors to provide incentive plans in their contracts so that their hired farmers acquire equity in the farm as time goes on. "In that sense we are kind of marriage brokers, putting together the farm community and the nonfarm community."

For all of his consulting and brokerage work, Barney most enjoys working on his own farm. "I like the interplay of natural elements—the seasons and their impact on living things, the process of birth and growth of livestock, the game of developing and improving strains of animals. As I see the ducks and geese swimming in our drainage, or deer wandering through our sheep, I feel very much a part of the natural wonder. It's an uplifting and humbling experience at the same time."

All this and money, too? How are you going to keep them away from the farm, now that they've seen a profit?

John Dentinger is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles.

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This ad will explain every detail of an exciting new business that has never been advertised or attempted before—what's more, you can enter with absolutely no money.

Life was not always rosy for me. I got involved in a bad business investment a few years ago and lost about $11,000. Everything I owned was taken away from me. I needed money desperately to feed my family, so I was forced to toil as a waiter at the Sheraton Harbor Island Hotel in San Diego by night, and I was a filing clerk during the day. It was so exhausting, that as soon as I got home, I would sleep for just a few hours, wake up in a stupor, drink four cups of coffee, and then scramble to my next job. I had no choice. It was the only thing I could do to stop disappointing my loved ones. I remember coming home on Mother's Day really eager to call my mother, only to find that my phone had been disconnected. I went through the mail praying for some good news, only to find an envelope with no return address—it contained an eviction notice. At this point I thought we would have to live in our beat-up Fiat. We were fortunate to have relatives that were kind enough to let us stay with them. I never knew life could be so miserable. I sat down on the sidewalk just realizing how much being in debt could hurt. With tears in my eyes, I prayed for a way out.

My friend Gary, who was in the same financial boat as I was told me a story that changed my life forever. He told me very excitedly, "I received a funny-looking letter. When I first saw it, I thought it was another creditor making a claim on me. The letter told me about money that was rightfully mine—it said that if I signed the enclosed form, I would receive $2,592.59. Things were so bad that I had nothing to lose, so I signed the form neatly and returned it to the company.

"Ten days later I received a check for $2,592.59 with an explanation. A distant aunt had died and left $4,320.98 in her savings account. The company that found me collected $1,728.39. The firm had no trouble finding out that I was related to her. Just for matching up people with the same last names, that agency was making millions every year."

It was just then that an amazing idea popped into my mind. I was overcome with excitement; this revolutionary system was so simple, yet I knew it would take me out of my rut. I was compelled to find out more about it. I had lost everything I owned; what else could I lose? I found out everything I could and began to work on a plan. I put it into effect. My prayers were heard. To my relief I started to make more money than I have ever seen in my life for doing practically nothing. **In fact, my income for just last month was $50,076.78.**

Testimonials

I have been able to locate and notify 421 claimants (worth $20,197,323.97 in claims). I was even contacted by a Texas ranger that thought I was running a scam. Later when the ranger understood what I was doing he told me I could use him for a reference. I have made over $300,000 since I last wrote you Dave.
Herb H., TX

Due to the methods in your book I was able to secure $16,212 with the help of my brother. I had to get my 16 year old brother to help me because I am under age. I am 15 years old and have been traveling to Miami, Jamaica, St. Croix, New York. I'll be going to England very soon and L.A. Thank you for helping me make money with your system.
Andre I., CT

I've spent at least $7,000 on money-making books and seminars. The difference between them and your method is that yours works! In less than three weeks (part time) I was able to secure $52,614.21. Thanks for a business that will easily make me $100,000 this year. If I can ever be of service just call.
Steve S., CO

Having read your book, I have recently launched into the fascinating endeavor of locating people. As a result, I have succeeded in finding an individual with a fairly large sum of money.
Ben S., CA

Thank you so much for the methods outlined in your book. I was able to secure $24,685 in just six hours of work. I have read just about all the other "get rich" books but yours has to be the best.
Terrie, T., MI

I had a C-minus average in high school—one year, I received an F in English. By no means was I ever considered to have the smarts. But I did it. All you have to do to make large amounts of money is thumb through phone books and make a few phone calls.

Last summer we moved into a gorgeous home. My wife told me it was her life long dream to own a brand new car. You should have seen her tears of joy when I surprised her with her own new $20,000 car. Later I bought a 1986 Mercedes 560SL that cost me $56,000.

The amount of money I was making was incredible. Just as a hedge against taxes, I bought two three bedroom houses valued at $200,000.

Twenty-five billion is just sitting there waiting for someone to recover it. One out of ten Americans have forgotten or lost money in bank accounts, stocks, insurance premiums, etc. I will disclose a plan to you that will show you how to get your hands on this money.

Only 10 percent of the rightful owners claim their share of the $25 billion. The states make no strong effort to contact the rightful owners. Why should they, when unclaimed property is their biggest source of revenue, second only to taxes? The states are required by law to make a list of unclaimed owners. These lists are hard to find but I will show you how to get every one that the states publish. And in some cases, they're free.

Let me give you a random sample list from the state of Wisconsin. (Addresses are included in lists.)

Owner's Name	Property	Amount
Drinka, Teresa, A	Savings	$10,891.47
Lavelle, Samuel	Stock Proceeds	$21,529.61
McDonnell, Martha	Savings	$12,843.78
Meyer, Thusneida	Savings	$18,489.18
Patterson, Arthur	Savings	$14,629.24
Stien, George	Savings	$57,525.83

This listing is only a minor portion of the $25 billion in unclaimed property that is waiting for you.

To make thousands of dollars, all you need are telephone books and a phone. The proven system in this book can be learned in a half hour. After that, you are all set. **If you can read English and can speak on the phone, you're in business. It's as easy as that.**

Sample Proof

Bonnie Goldstein, a well-known syndicated newspaper writer who doesn't know anything about finding people, located the owners of $4,100 in two and a half hours with two telephone directories—she said so in the *San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle.*

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A New View of a Legendary Robber Baron

By William D. Burt

The Life and Legend of Jay Gould, by Maury Klein
Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 595 pages, $27.50

BETTMANN ARCHIVES

In 1870 Jay Gould and his partner Jim Fisk were in control of the Erie Railroad, and the company was embroiled in a familiar kind of trouble. Erie and the parallel New York Central were struggling to dominate livestock shipments from Buffalo to New York City, and freight rates had plummeted from $125 to $25. Now the New York Central's master, Cornelius ("Commodore") Vanderbilt, announced a ludicrous $1 per carload rate.

Soon the Central had all the eastbound livestock traffic it could handle, and Vanderbilt was jubilant—until he learned that Gould and Fisk had acquired all the livestock in Buffalo and then availed themselves of the Central's $1 rate to New York. "When the Old Commodore found out that he was carrying the cattle of his enemies at great cost to himself...he very nearly lost his reason," Gould's secretary later said. "I am told the air was very blue in Vanderbiltdom."

I have culled this minor episode from among hundreds to illustrate why Maury Klein's new biography of Jay Gould can be enthusiastically recommended as a good read. It might also begin to revise the way America's "Gilded Age" is understood and taught.

The biographer's subject was reviled as no financier has been, before or since. A generation of editorial writers and cartoonists cast Jay Gould as Satan himself, with a ferocity that would not be believed today. At his death, erroneous and speculative newspaper accounts were reworked into several hack biographies that then entered the mainstream of American history. Substantial primary sources on Gould were thought not to exist until his letters were brought to light in this new book.

Klein, a professor of history at the University of Rhode Island, has made it his mission to disentangle Jay Gould's life from his legend. To do that, it was necessary to write a financially literate account, and one that brings the personalities into focus. He had the delicate job of correcting Gould's critics without making him into a saint. In all areas, Klein has succeeded, and apart from hoping that textbook editors will take note, I won't dwell on the accomplishment.

Klein's biography of Gould will interest the student of American economic history for another reason. In freeing Gould's story from the prison of populist/progressive ideology, we are at last able to survey the forces at work in the latter years of the Industrial Revolution.

In place of "robber barons" roving the landscape at will, we find the business titans of Gould's generation spending much of their harried lives attempting to wrest a semblance of industrial stability out of the chaos left behind by the Civil War. Especially in the railroad industry, government initiatives encouraged premature expansion and then, without any real policy, tended to prevent disinvestment.

That government made large land grants available to some railroads, in a deliberate effort to build track *ahead of economic demand,* is well known. More commonplace was the state charter of railroads, conferring powers of eminent domain on private corporations and frequently providing access to bond financing by state or local governments. While relatively few large railroads benefited from federal land grants, the more mundane involvement of state legislatures facilitated the later construction of thousands of miles of unnecessary, duplicating railroad lines.

Once in place, marginal railroads were sheltered by extremely liberal bankruptcy laws. At a time when construction bonds represented the largest portion of many a railroad's fixed charges, bankruptcy relief was the best competitive tool of a weak carrier. If a new railroad could get relief from its construction debt obligation, it then represented a competitive threat to soundly financed railroads.

Under the circumstances, railroad entrepreneurs would frequently build railroads they knew would fail, giving stronger competitors the option of buying them

out or facing stiff competition from the new railroad once it was relieved, through bankruptcy procedures, of its debt burden. These "blackmail roads" were built for the sole purpose of forcing a strong existing line to buy out their builders.

Gould and his contemporaries spent a generation attempting to consolidate the railroad network into a few strong systems, trying and discarding one unworkable solution after another. The courts refused to enforce price-fixing and traffic-pooling agreements, which might have become the prelude to actual consolidation. This left the participants to fall back on pathetic appeals to honor and self-sacrifice.

In the end, the only way out was for each emerging system to build even more railroad in a desperate bid to control access to all major markets in each region. Seeing this early, Jay Gould's program to expand the Missouri Pacific precipitated a construction spree unparalled in history, one that we have still not undone.

Gould's retold story also provides a poignant reminder of the role "economic error" plays in history. If Klein makes his case that Gould was intent on building, not wrecking, railroads and other enterprises, it cannot be said that he was ultimately successful in this regard. Gould railroads passed into other hands hardly much stronger than in the beginning.

Jay Gould's ever-present shortage of capital was compounded by a failure to find good management and, oddly enough in light of the charges that he ruthlessly betrayed his friends and partners, an excessive loyalty to second-raters like Silas Clark, who headed many of Gould's railroads. Gould eventually worked himself to death by his extreme absorption in the details of his businesses. Shall we, with his biographer, say that this reflects his commitment to build the enterprise—or is this a common 19th-century failure to establish a system of delegated authority?

So, too, it may be that Gould made a strategic error by concentrating his energies on transcontinental systems. As Klein points out, in 1882 Chicago itself delivered more freight to the eastern trunk lines in just five days than California did in a year, so far ahead of economic development were the western railroads. While Gould was trying to make sense out of the Union Pacific and Missouri Pacific, Vanderbilt's heirs were laying the basis of the New York Central's future strength within the Midwest and Northeast regions. Even the Lackawanna, where Gould had caused the building of an important route to Buffalo, turned into a cash cow despite less-than-stellar management.

Jay Gould's life spanned an era that begins with the pastoral America of the 1840s and leads to the first stirrings, in the late 1890s, of a broadly prosperous middle-class society. With their flimsy Emersonian ethics and archaic concepts of business organization, the protagonists of the Industrial Revolution were in many ways inadequate to meet the challenges they themselves had spawned.

What makes Jay Gould ultimately a tragic figure is that, despite the role he played in fashioning several industrial empires, he died too soon to see the harvest. It was left to the next generation to bring in professional management, invest new capital in relatively stabilized enterprises, and build the bridges, massive railway passenger stations, and other monuments to confidence in the future that began to

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spring up across the nation after 1900.

The Union Pacific, on which Gould had doted most of his later life, was acquired by Edward H. Harriman and, in combination with the Southern Pacific, became a driving force in the development of the West, especially California. The Lackawanna, struggling to handle enormous volumes of anthracite coal, completely rebuilt its railroad across northwestern New Jersey and Pennsylvania, erecting reinforced concrete bridges larger than any built before. Jay Gould's son George attempted to link together the Missouri Pacific, Wabash, and other properties into another transcontinental but was ultimately stymied by regional competitors, now robust and comfortably positioned in the marketplace for another generation.

William D. Burt is president of a transportation firm in Binghamton, N.Y.

Of Beasts and Men

By Jack Sommer

Playing God in Yellowstone: The Destruction of America's First National Park
By Alston Chase, Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 446 pages, $24.95

Grizzly bears are dying off, and the managers of our national parks are to blame. That, at least, is the verdict of Alston Chase in his controversial recent book, *Playing God in Yellowstone.*

A few decades ago millions of tourists flocked to parks where they could watch from bleachers while grizzlies dined at man-made dumpsites. Other animals, used to handouts from humans, also thrived in popular park sites.

All this dramatically changed in the mid-'60s under the influence of the environmental movement. Our national parks came under caustic attack for their "unnatural" integration of man and beast. Spurred on by the environmentalists' creed, in which all that was "natural" was good, park managers tore down the bleachers and abandoned the dumps where grizzlies had fed. They also mounted a "minimal management" campaign founded on the belief that preservation of our parks and their animals would result naturally if only man were kept away from beast.

In challenging this creed, Chase has aroused astonishing hostility. Senators have called hearings on the fate of the grizzly. Environmentalists have shunned him, for it is not the Park Service alone that Chase faults. Indeed, it is above all the environmentalists' dogma that he

attacks—a dogma that has shaped national park policy for two decades.

Playing God in Yellowstone is about wilderness lost, but it is about much more. It is a classic picture of the inevitable conflict between officials justifying public action already taken and those who inquire without respect to "official truth." In his amply documented essay Chase details the difference between mission research, in which results have a priori boundaries that coincide with the aims of management, and scientific research done the old-fashioned way—by careful observation, in which conclusions are open to revision upon the presentation of better evidence. Mission research has been winning, and Yellowstone has lost.

Chase, through extensive tracking of evidence, has captured a fabulous story for us about how Yellowstone National Park has suffered despoliation at the hands of public agents who are supposed to care for it. The Park Service, responsible for park management, and in most cases (but not all), acting within the law, is portrayed as the nemesis of uncommon beasts, common man, and common sense in the northwest corner of Wyoming.

Park Rangers shoot up grizzlies with "angel dust," give them mortal doses of tranquilizers, drop them from helicopters, or all three in the name of "bear management." All this despite their marching orders that demand protection of wildlife. Park officials say elk are too few or too numerous, according to the dictates of policy rather than according to data rigorously gathered and analyzed. Officials surreptitiously introduce wolves, evidently extinct in Yellowstone, into the park, bent on putting flesh and fur to their own myth that the park is successfully being restored without human interference to its pristine, pre-European, steady-state condition. The official description of that pristine state, Chase observes, conveniently excludes native Americans from the ecosystem despite conclusive evidence that they played a major role in its "natural" balance.

Chase recounts a grisly story about the merging of goals of special-interest environmental groups and Department of Interior, especially Park Service, bureaucrats doing no less than one would expect—"doing good" by using a public agency to provide private goods, and "doing well" by expanding the Park Service budget and span of control.

Nowhere has he developed this theme more keenly than in his account of Grant Village, where he explains the politics of tourism with all its sordid manifestations at all levels of government, from Cabinet secretaries to state legislatures to local townships. Here we find the essence of management of common property, where transferable private property rights and attendant responsibilities do not exist. These are case studies of importance that any environmentalist should have to refute before approaching the public for further funding of public lands.

The studies illustrate vividly that preservation of species and wilderness treasures is ultimately unsafe in the hands of public managers who are inevitably responsible to political processes. But these useful case studies, Chase's thoughtful discussion of the struggle of a science of ecology to emerge from the wackiness of the movement that surrounded it, and his detailed (although altogether too long) natural history of the park still leave room for criticism.

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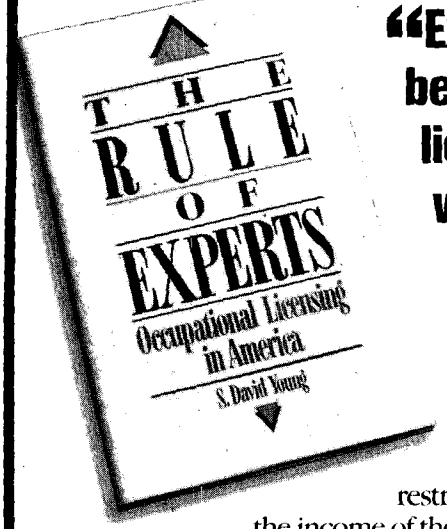

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Perhaps Chase was too bewildered and exhausted from the dramatic telling of his story to suggest a way out of the dilemmas of Yellowstone. He describes with great insight the multiple incidences of government failure, even pointing out that the majority of park officials were well intentioned. But he misses the obvious solution—exposing the park to private market forces. Or does he?

Privatization would generate an accurate valuation of such storied wilderness and its native creatures, not just by Americans but by the world. My guess is that Chase would not bet on people acting in a free market to preserve the wilderness to his taste despite the eloquent, heart-rending prospectus for a "wilderness company" that he has in effect provided.

Chase's reluctance to suggest a market solution renders his lampooning of the environmentalists and his harpooning of the Park Service less effective. Isn't he merely saying he would like those who practiced "primitive chic" as part of a quasi-religious, naturalist movement to accept the results of careful scientific research before lobbying Congress and the bureaucracy so that the "right" message, his message, is sent from the grass roots?

I admit cheering for his searing branding of the environmentalist movement, but I balked at the sneering quality of some of his criticism. For example, he points out that the primitive chic environmentalist view of the simple life "was a luxury few could afford....It became the life-style reserved for writers, legatees of trust funds, marijuana farmers, and other non-commuters." He then observes that this lifestyle was "of questionable ecological value" and "was not the best use of earth's finite resources." Yet how does Chase purport to know this, especially after he himself has clearly articulated the struggling character of the science of ecology and underscored the subjectivity of cosmological statements such as "best"?

Sneers and jeers aside, a tip of the brim is due to Chase, who has persevered in his inquiry, considered the facts he gathered, and assembled a highly plausible story. His work gives the reader much to think about that extends far beyond the wilderness of Yellowstone, even unto the gates of Washington.

John Sommer is a professor of political economy at the University of Texas, Dallas, and an adjunct scholar of the Cato Institute in Washington, D.C.

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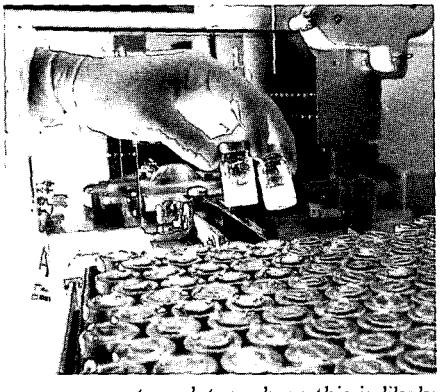
From Alchemy to Androids

By G. Harry Stine

Engines of Creation, by K. Eric Drexler
Garden City, New York: Anchor Press / Doubleday, 298 pages, $17.95

Very few authors can write a book that can be called "seminal"—that is, the visionary first look at a field of human endeavor that someday grows into a major human activity. K. Eric Drexler has written such a seminal book. Drexler would certainly have been labeled a "technological visionary" by the late Dr. Herman Kahn, who was himself a visionary. In *Engines of Creation,* Drexler identifies a long-term trend in technology and, on the basis of recent research data and technological



progress, extrapolates where this is likely to lead.

For millennia, mankind has been rearranging molecules and atoms of the raw materials he's found on and in planet earth, making new materials and devices to assist him and to help ensure his survival as an individual and a species. The medieval alchemists tried to go one step beyond this by altering atoms—turning lead into gold is the most oft-quoted example. The alchemists failed, because the technology wasn't there yet. When the pioneer chemists Antoine Lavoisier, John Dalton, and others began to isolate the basic chemical atoms in the 18th century, they ushered in an age of molecular chemistry that wasn't really brought to a useful stage until Leo H. Baekeland developed the first thermoplastic, phenylformaldehyde—"Bakelite" — in the early 20th century.

When we developed nuclear engineering, we finally achieved the alchemists' dream of turning lead into gold by changing atoms from one type to another...but it costs more than the gold is worth. And lead itself isn't cheap these days, either.

We live today in a world of engineered materials: matter composed of molecules assembled in certain ways to produce specific characteristics that are useful to us. Drexler takes this basic concept of "engineered materials" several steps beyond. Although we are now building molecules atom by atom on an industrial and commercial scale, he foresees the ultimate application of this field, which he calls "nanotechnology." Every seminal thinker has the right to put his own nomenclature on the new field he has foreseen. It may not last, because as researchers in the field begin to make progress they have the disturbing tendency to put their own pet labels on things. For right now, however, "nanotechnology" can certainly be used to describe what Drexler is talking about.

Basically, what Drexler means by nanotechnology is the ability to design to specification, to "engineer," both inorganic and organic materials at the very smallest, or atomic, level. Organic materials in this instance mean living cells. We don't yet have a good definition of what "life" or "'living matter" really is, but we can define it by what it does—that is, its characteristics. We are the product of natural nanotechnology.

Drexler points out that we either already have the technology or will shortly have the capability to arrange atoms in any pattern we desire to produce any conceivable substance or device we want. We also have or will have the capability to perform "molecular surgery," to get inside existing materials and fix defects—such as repairing a discontinuity in a crystal or damage on the atomic level inside the living cell.

Genetic engineering and recombinant DNA technology are two of the earliest examples of nanotechnology but are far from the ultimate in designing and building materials atom by atom. Drexler introduces the concept of a nanotechnology "assembler," a protein such as an enzyme that, because of "instructions" placed in its DNA chains, will be able to manipulate atoms, move

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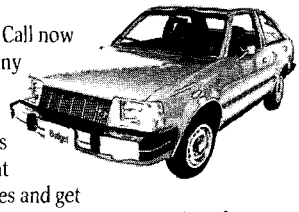

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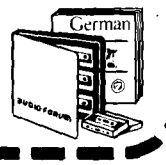

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them from place to place, and attach them at specific locations on a new molecule that is being put together.

Today, engineers make silicon-based computer microchips by plating layers millions of atoms thick onto the microchip they're building; the resulting microchip is large by potential nanotechnology standards and may not work because our technology cannot detect the atomic-sized errors that can be introduced by the gross-plating system. A nanotechnology assembler could fabricate a much smaller and faster electronic microchip ("nanochip") by adding layers atom by atom, and only where it was instructed to do so.

Drexler also introduces the concept of the "disassembler," a protein that can identify certain atoms or combinations of atoms at a specific location in a molecule and remove them.

In short, we will soon be able to bring the most fantastic projections of science fiction to reality. For example, in a 1954 novel I wrote about *growing* a tree in the desired shape of a house rather than cutting down a tree, sawing it up into lumber, and reassembling it into a dwelling. In 1923 the drama *R.U.R*, by Czech author Karel Capek has a scientist, Dr. Rossum, discovering a new way to make living organisms and then proceeding to engineer artificial people. R.U.R. was "Rossum's Universal Robots," the company that manufactured Rossum's specialized androids that took the place of servants, farm workers, and assembly and drudgery workers everywhere.

Whether or not we opt to proceed in various areas of nanotechnology remains to be seen. For example, by the time we're capable of producing androids, we may have developed the nanoengineered silicon-based materials of computer technology to the point where we won't need artificial replicas of ourselves. (Why create our own competition? We've got plenty of that among ourselves already!) We may use nanotechnology to improve the specialized physical tools (robots) that extend the power and range of our muscles and sensors not only upward in size into the universe but downward in size to the atomic level. We'll certainly develop nanotechnology to create artificial intelligence—once we define what "intelligence" actually is—or "intelligence amplifiers" to extend and improve our mental capabilities.

Drexler writes about technology, not science. There's a difference. Technology in-

volves learning how to make the universe work for you; science is learning *why* the universe works. It's possible to have either without the other. Often, inventors develop technology, leaving it to engineers to improve it and scientists to explain why it works in the first place.

And, as we've learned in the last 50 years, science and technology in and of themselves are neither good nor bad; how human beings use technology is either good or bad, and that involves a moral judgment. Drexler points out some of the enormous benefits for humanity in developing nanotechnology. But he also realizes that human beings are still mean, nasty, covetous, jealous, deadly, deceitful, and otherwise possess all the traits one might expect of the finest hunting animal the planet has ever known.

Therefore, some people will use nanotechnology not to gain power over the universe but to achieve power over other people and their minds. These are the "misuses" of nanotechnology. Dangers are involved, and we will have to develop social institutions to prevent abuses.

The biggest danger to nanotechnology's development, however, is that people may take the perceived "easy way out" and allow it to be controlled by government bureaucracies or studied to death by academia; if this happens, the chances of rapid and beneficial progress are slim. If nanotechnology develops in the realm of private enterprise, as the computer technologies largely have, we are far more likely to see widespread and inexpensive benefits sooner.

It is absolutely crucial that we keep the power of nanotechnology, and other future technologies, out of the exclusive control of the Attilas and witch doctors of the world. It will not be easy, because these types of people exploit human fears and other emotions to achieve their power. Which is why individuals who believe in private enterprise should certainly read this book, particularly if we want to head off the collectivists and let nanotechnology move in the free marketplace as it has in the past.

Engines of Creation is a seminal book. It will make people think. Some people find this too bothersome, so read it in order to keep ahead of the nonthinkers.

G. Harry Stine is the author of numerous science fiction books, as well as nonfiction, including most recently The Corporate Survivors.

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REASON

viewpoint

By Tom Bethell

Arms Control's Strange Bedfellows

There is no more deceptive subject than arms control. I am not alleging a conspiracy, but it does seem that those who support the "arms control process" do so for reasons that they either do not themselves understand or do not wish to publicize. Arms control is always promoted and touted as a way to *reduce the quantity* of nuclear weapons. The theory, rarely spelled out, is that a certain precarious "balance" of weapons exists. If either side upsets this balance by building too many weapons, "instability" results and we are all in peril.

Now this is nonsense. Does it really matter how many warheads we or the Soviets have? If they have 25,000 this year, why worry if they have 30,000 next? No one is seriously alleging that there is any danger of these weapons accidentally exploding. If, between the United States and the USSR, we have enough bombs to blow up the world ten times over—as the liberals love to tell us—why become alarmed if Soviet armament factories crank out still more? Such overkill is merely a waste of their money and manpower.

For the liberals who support arms control, quantitative reduction of weapons is not really the goal at all. For them, the "process" dresses up ideological conflict (between communism and democracy) as a procedural confusion (with mathematical overtones). Then let us hasten to the bargaining table to straighten things out! Arms-control bargaining sessions legitimize the Soviet Union as the coguarantor of world peace, *and* they force U.S. weapons procurement to run the gauntlet of Soviet approval. Today, for example, the Soviets are trying to use arms control to prevent the United States from defending itself against Soviet missiles—a goal shared by most American liberals.

So it is not hard to see why liberals like arms control.

Oddly enough, arms control also keeps the Pentagon happy. How does this work? There are two points to bear in mind. First of all, the whole idea of arms control is based on the theory that technological development can be frozen by law. It is an attempt to make the past permanent—to rule out the future by treaty. Secondly,

MICHAEL KNEPP

and quite unexpectedly, a never-ending arms control "process" actually provides a rationale for building *more* weapons—more of what already exists. And it isn't hard to see that endless arms-control talks provide grounds for keeping weapons in commission.

"Let's keep these weapons well oiled," the Joint Chiefs of Staff will say. "At least they will come in handy as bargaining chips at Geneva." Having made a big deal out of arms control, Congress has not yet learned how to respond to this gambit. Nor to this one: "Why give it away unilaterally when we can use it to get *them* to give up something?" Anyone who knows how admirals hate to see their beloved old warships decommissioned will appreciate the appeal of such arguments.

Out west, says Arms Control Director Kenneth Adelman, there are airfields of old, with still-operational jets that would have been sold for scrap long ago if it hadn't been for arms control. So how do you think Air Force Chief of Staff Charles A. Gabriel feels about arms control? He loves it. Secretary of the Navy John Lehman told me last summer that there is no group in Washington more supportive of arms control than the Joint Chiefs. He stressed that he was talking about the Reagan, not the Carter, Administration.

Last fall, President Reagan said repeatedly that it was our arms buildup that had brought the Soviets to Reykjavik. Hardly anyone pointed out the confusion: Having built up arms, it was safe to negotiate them away again. Why go through such rigamarole? Well, notice what happened. The arms buildup was real. The negotiated reductions never happened. So whose budget benefited? The Pentagon's.

There's something else. Arms control protects old weapons systems, but it makes it difficult to build new ones—much the way rent control protects existing tenants but makes life difficult for future ones. The service chiefs, who are well positioned to use arms control to enlarge their pet weapons programs, are frequently hostile to new programs. These they see not so much as saving the country as threatening their turf.

When a new system, say "Star Wars," is poised to displace an old one, say ICBMs, the bureaucratic losers (generals in charge of ICBMs) are in a better position to block the change than the winners (junior officers, their identity still unknown) are to encourage it. The potential losers are identifiable and powerful; the potential winners unknown and weak.

Under these circumstances, it's easy to rationalize one's support of the status quo as opposition to the newfangled and untested. Thus 19th-century admirals could defend sail against steam on the grounds that those damned boilers were unreliable, so you'd have to have backup sail anyway. More recently, the U.S. Army and Air Force resisted the introduction of ICBMs. Today, the Joint Chiefs oppose the deployment of "Star Wars," and according to Wyoming Senator Malcolm Wallop, they have so advised President Reagan.

So it's not hard to see why we have an endless "arms control process." The liberals like it, and the Pentagon likes it. That's a powerful combination—likely to endure. Everything falls into place so long as one remembers that "arms control" has nothing to do with arms reduction.

Tom Bethell is a media fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.

An American Classic...

Walking Liberty Half Dollars

The Walking Liberty half dollar is quickly becoming an American classic. Only 39 years after its final mintage in 1947, it is already regarded as the most beautiful silver coin ever issued.

The Walking Liberty half has a well established position as a favorite with collectors - thanks no doubt to its extraordinary beauty combined with considerable rarity, especially in Mint State.

Tomorrow's Rarity Today

By today's standards, mintages for the Walking Liberty half dollar are tiny. Indeed, more Kennedy half dollars were issued dated 1976 than the entire mintage of Walking Liberty half dollars, issued over a 32 year period.

The average mintage of Walking Liberty half dollars is only 7,466,471. The average mintage of Kennedy halves through 1984 is 104,344,929 - that's about 14 times as high as the Walking Liberty half dollar.

And Walking Liberty half dollars were issued at a time when few collectors could afford to save quantities of uncirculated coins, especially coins with high face value. It was the highest face value U.S. coin issued after 1935.

Unlike silver dollars and gold coins, few were saved in quantity by banks as reserve coins. And huge quantities of Walking Liberty half dollars were melted during the 1960s and 1970s and the huge silver meltage of 1980.

Quality and Rarity at a Value Price!

Over the past few years, collectors and investors have begun to discover the Walking Liberty half dollar. Already, uncirculated specimens of many rare dates from the series command prices of thousands of dollars.

Yet in comparison to the comparably priced Morgan "S" mint silver dollar, the Walking Liberty half dollar offers greater rarity! In the late 1950s and early 1960s the Treasury released to collectors dozens, perhaps hundreds, of bags of San Francisco dollars in mint condition. No similar hoards of Walking Liberty half dollars are known.

The Walking Liberty half dollar has a track record of growing popularity with collectors. During the past two years, investors have begun discover what collectors have known for years. The result: Walking Liberty half dollars have emerged as a true, numismatic blue chip investment.

The Best Buy

Demand for Walking Liberty half dollars is strongest in Choice Uncirculated (MS-63) condition. Gem specimens of common dates already command prices in excess of $500, pricing them above the means of many collectors. And marginal uncirculated (MS-60) specimens simply lack the dazzling beauty that MS-63 specimens exhibit.

Currently, common date Walking Liberty half dollars in MS-63 condition have a retail price of about $135-$150.

Thanks to careful purchasing, our buyers' have accumulated a nice stock of Walking Liberty half dollars in MS-63 condition. Each coin is hand selected by one of our expert numismatist buyers. Each must meet our demanding specifications. In fact, many are so nice that other dealers would grade them Gem Uncirculated.

And our buyers acquired these MS-63 specimens reasonably enough that we can offer them at prices as low as $123 per coin, depending on size of purchase!

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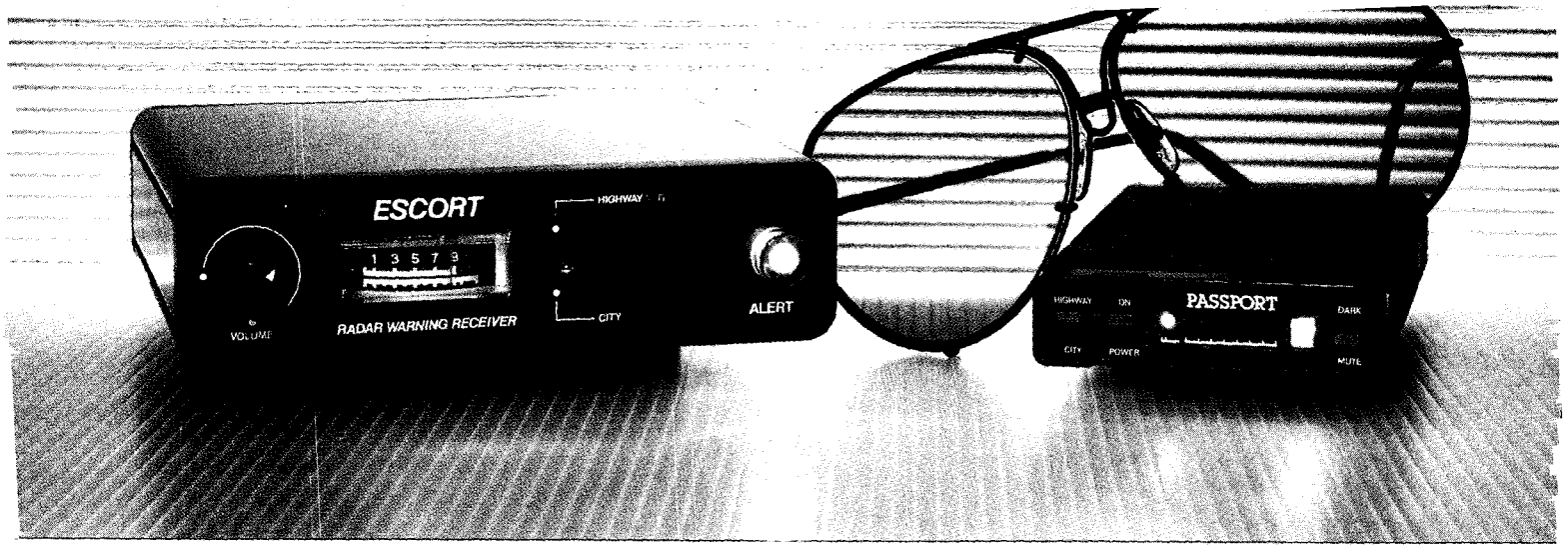


Radar warning breakthrough #4 is now available from the same engineers who made #1, #2, and #3

Bad news for radar detectors. The FCC (Federal Communications Commission) has cleared the Rashid VRSS for operation on K band.

What's a Rashid VRSS?

The Rashid VRSS is a collision warning system using a radar beam to scan the vehicle's path, much as a blind person uses a cane. It may reduce accidents, which is very good news.*

Now for the bad news

Unfortunately, the Rashid transmits on K band, which is one of the frequencies assigned to traffic radar. Rashid speaks a radar detector's language, you might say, and it can set off detectors over a mile away.

Faced with this problem, we could hope Rashid installations will be few. Or we could invent a solution.

Opportunity knocking

Actually, the choice was easier than it sounds, because our engineers are in the habit of inventing remarkable solutions. In fact, in the history of radar detection, only three advancements have qualified as genuine breakthroughs, and all three came from our engineers.

Back in 1978, they were first to adapt dual-band superheterodyne technology to the problem of traffic radar. The result was ESCORT, now legendary for its performance.

In 1983, when a deluge of cheap imported detectors was found to be transmitting on radar frequency, our engineers came through again, this time with ST/O/P™, a sophisticated circuit that could weed out these phony signals before they triggered an alarm.

Then in 1984, using SMDs (Surface Mounted Devices), micro-electronics originally intended for satellites, these same engineers designed the smallest detector ever. The result was PASSPORT, renowned for its convenience.

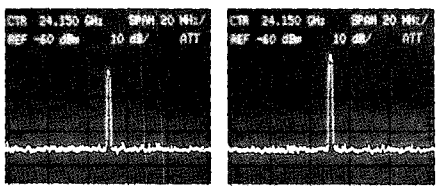
*For more information on Rashid VRSS collision warning system, see *Popular Science*, January 1986.

They said it couldn't be done

Now we're introducing breakthrough number four. In their cleverest innovation yet, our engineers have found a way to distinguish Rashid from all other K band signals. It's the electronic equivalent of finding the needle in a haystack. The AFR™ (Alternating Frequency Rejection) circuit isolates and neutralizes all Rashid signals, yet leaves the radar detection capability undiminished for your protection.

No waiting for the good stuff

When testing proved that AFR was 100 percent effective, we immediately incorporated it into ESCORT and PASSPORT. Our policy is to make running changes—not model changes—whenever a refinement is ready. That way our customers always get the latest science.



RADAR RASHID

Figure 1: A digital spectrum analyzer scanning the entire width of K band can't see the difference between radar and Rashid.

AFR is fully automatic. There are no extra switches or lights. Nothing for you to bother about. The Rashid problem simply goes away.

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